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HERODIAN's

HISTORY,

IN

Eight Books.

HERODIAN's
HISTORY
OF
His Own Times,
OR OF THE
Roman Empire after MARCUS,

Tranſlated into, ENGLISH.

With large NOTES, explaining the moſt remarkable Cuſtoms, Ceremonies, Offices, &c. among the ROMANS.

To which is prefix'd,

An INTRODUCTION, giving a ſhort Account of the *Roman* State, from its firſt Origin, to the Time where *Herodian's* Hiſtory commences;

AND

An APPENDIX added, containing the moſt memorable Tranſactions under the ſubſequent Emperors to the Reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

With a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,
And a Copious INDEX.

The Whole deſign'd as a Compendium both of the HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of ROME.

By J. HART.

Ἀταλαίπωρῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπουσι. *Thucydides.*

LONDON,
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PREFACE.

THE Sum of what is requiſite to be known of ancient Times, and different Nations, may be comprehended under two Heads; *viz.* To be informed of their moſt remarkable Tranſactions; and to be acquainted with their Manners, Laws, Inſtitutions, *&c.* The former of which is the Subject of *Hiſtories*; the latter of Books of *Antiquities*. Of theſe two Branches of Learning (as far as they relate to the *Roman* Empire) I have endeavoured to join the moſt material Particulars in one Work. In order to this, and that the Reader might be entertain'd with ſomething beſides mere Epitome and Annotation (which, if protracted to any Length, will naturally grow dry and inſipid to moſt Taſtes) the main Body of the Work is an exact Tranſlation of HERODIAN's HISTORY *of his own Times*,

from the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* to that of *Gordian*, excluſive.

I ſhall not conſume my own, nor the Reader's Time, in unneceſſary Encomiums on my Author; but ſhall only obſerve, that as *Herodian* was a *Greek*, and wrote principally for the Information of ſuch of his Country-men as were unacquainted with the Affairs of the *Romans*; he touches on a great many Cuſtoms of that once flouriſhing People; and is therefore no unfit Author whereon to found a Work of the like Tendency, for the Service of the *Engliſh* Reader. Accordingly, Occaſion has been taken, wherever the Paſſage would admit, to give ſome Account of the Manners, Laws, and Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, both Religious and Civil, in NOTES at the Bottom of the Page where each Particular occurred.

Their Religion I have been principally careful to explain; becauſe it has been generally miſrepreſented by modern Writers; who, through a miſtaken Zeal, have ſometimes deſcribed it in ſo diſadvantageous a Light,

Light, that it ſeems incredible it ſhould have ever been entertained by rational Creatures; not to mention how much it reflects on the Goodneſs of the Supreme Being, to ſuppoſe him capable of leaving ſo great a Number of his Creatures with no better Guide to direct them in an Affair of ſuch infinite Importance.

To expoſe this unworthy Prejudice, ſeveral Parts of the following Work ſhew the Parity (I might, in ſome Articles, ſay the Identity) of the religious Notions of the *Heathen* with thoſe of the *Jews* of Old, and the *Chriſtians* of all Denominations. Nor ought this to be look'd upon as a Diſparagement of the two latter, but rather as an Exaltation of the former. For that Man muſt certainly be of a very mean and narrow Spirit, who would miſlike any Truth for no other Reaſon than it's being extenſive. And I much fear, that if *Chriſtianity* itſelf had no better Proof of its Divinity, than what is drawn from Tradition and Teſtimony, it would not have ſo great an Advantage, as it really

has, above other Religions. For the *external* Evidence of all Religions is much the ſame: They all pretend to Miracles and ſupernatural Aſſiſtance; and the Accounts of theſe depend for Credit on the Veracity of their ſeveral Hiſtorians; each of whom, being a Profeſſor of that Religion he intended to recommend, may, by Unbelievers, be ſuſpected of Partiality. But the *internal* Evidence of pure *Chriſtianity* is invincible; I mean, the divine Doctrines of Salvation and Univerſal Charity. And tho' whatever teaches and inculcates theſe, propagates the Religion of *Jeſus*, and is therefore the *Word of God*; yet, as they are much more frequent and plain in the Sacred Scriptures than in any other Writings, the Bible well deſerves the Title of the *beſt* Book extant; at leaſt till any Man can produce another equally *good*. But as the Hiſtorical Parts of it (which may be ſuppoſed capable of the ſame Errors, and liable to the ſame Alterations as other Writings) ſeem rather deſigned to convey ſome inſtructive Allegory, than to entertain

entertain us with bare Narrative; and as the Prophetic Paſſages are written in a Style wonderfully ſublime and poetical; and moſt of the celeſtial Truths contained in it were uttered by Perſons inſpired with a divine Enthuſiaſm; it ſeems but a precarious Foundation whereon to build regular elaborate Syſtems: The Authors of which methodical Compoſitions, being generally Men of cold reaſoning Minds, are very incompetent Judges of religious Emotions. But whatever becomes of Hypotheſis and Speculation; and how incapable ſoever the human Mind may be of comprehending the ſecret Counſels of God, of underſtanding his amazing Works, or accounting for his various Diſpenſations; yet the truly *Evangelical* Doctrines of Love and Mercy, contained in the Holy Scriptures, are ſufficient to warm every generous benevolent Heart with ſympathetic Ardour, and to win the candid and humble by their ſoft Attraction. Their Dictates are conſonant to the Sentiments of all wiſe and good Men; by whom they always

always were, and ever will be embraced; becauſe ſuch Men are influenced by the ſame godlike Spirit with which they were written. For every one, who, in any Age or Nation whatever, has been endowed with the heavenly Gift of diſintereſted Charity, may, in the beſt Senſe of the Phraſe, be ſaid to have been inſpired by the *Holy Ghoſt*.

But as the comparing the ſeveral Religions of different Nations afforded a large Field for Speculation; I have kept myſelf from expatiating beyond the Bounds of a Work of this kind; in which Brevity is the chief, perhaps the only Excellency, it has to boaſt. In theſe Diſquiſitions, Recourſe has been frequently had to the Etymology of Names: Which kind of Proof is ſo far from deſerving to be exploded or ſlighted, becauſe it has been abuſed by the Unſkilful; that, when fairly and naturally deduced, it is of equal Validity with any other Method of Reaſoning; and has ever been received and practiſed by Men of the ſoundeſt Judgments and deepeſt Penetration.

tion. In the Old Teſtament, eſpecially, the *Hebrew* Names of Perſons and Places are ſo ſignificant of their ſeveral Characters and Circumſtances, that the moſt learned Interpreters are often at a loſs, whether they ſhould tranſlate the Word according to it's literal Meaning, or give it the Turn of a proper Name; the latter of which is indeed the eaſieſt, but the former is generally the moſt inſtructive. But throughout the following Work, great Care has been taken, in all Reſearches of this nature, as on the one hand, to avoid ſuch Etymologies as ſeemed too ſtrain'd or remote; ſo on the other, to reject that low Common-place kind, which may ſo eaſily be made by Perſons of very little either Underſtanding or Learning; ſuch as calling Nations from the Names of their Kings; and, on the contrary, fetching the Names of famous Perſons from thoſe of their Countries, without explaining the Etymon of either.

My Deſign in this Work being to give the Reader a tolerable Knowledge in the

Roman

Roman Affairs, even though he had never read any other Account of them; I have prefix'd an INTRODUCTION, containing a ſummary Relation of all that was neceſſary to be known of the *Roman* State, from it's firſt Origin, to the Time whence *Herodian*'s Hiſtory commences; ſtill keeping the ſame End in view, and endeavouring to ſay as much as was requiſite, in as ſmall a Compaſs as poſſible. In this, as well as other Parts of the Work, I have not only conſulted moſt of the ancient Writers, of any Note; in order to collect a more authentic Account, by comparing them one with another, than could be obtained by following any *one Author* whatever; but have alſo taken care to ſet down the reſpective Authors, with the particular Book, Chapter, *&c.* (eſpecially where the Circumſtance was either very important, or much controverted) that I might not be cenſured for contradicting any received Story or Opinion, without producing my Authority for ſo doing.

The Reign of *Gordian* ſeemed not a very proper Period at which to end the *Roman* Hiſtory. To ſupply this Deficiency, I have added, by way of APPENDIX, a general Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions under each of the ſubſequent Emperors, to the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*.

Since no Hiſtory can be well underſtood, much leſs retained, unleſs the right Time be fix'd to each Incident; Chronology muſt be allowed to be one of the moſt material Ingredients in Hiſtorical Compoſitions. But as it is one of the moſt important, ſo it is alſo the moſt difficult Part of the Work; by reaſon of the numerous Corruptions and Variations, both accidental and deſign'd, in all the Writings of Antiquity. To remedy this Inconvenience, as much as I was able, I have not followed any one Calculation whatever; but endeavour'd to come as near the Truth as poſſible, by comparing the Works of one Author with thoſe of another, and every Author with himſelf:

And

And have thus, with great Labour and Care, collected a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE from the beſt ancient Hiſtorians; not without having Recourſe to the Poets themſelves, who, in ſome Particulars, have been very helpful.

Tho' in comparing the Religious, and Civil, Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, with thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, I was obliged to inſert Quotations from Authors, in their reſpective Languages; yet, that the *Engliſh* Reader might have his Share in thoſe Enquiries, I have not only added the Sound of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Words, in *Engliſh* Letters, where Etymology was the thing in diſpute; but have taken care to ſubjoin the *Engliſh* to every Quotation: So that there is nothing throughout the whole Book, in any dead or foreign Language, but what is immediately tranſlated, for the Uſe of the *Engliſh* Reader.

And now I ſhall only deſire of my Reader, that, before he paſſes Judgment on the following Work entire, or on any particular Paſſage contained in it, he would firſt

firſt take the pains to examine it with Impartiality, and be certain he is capable of entring into the Meaning of the Author; leſt, by giving his Opinion too ſoon, he be found in the Number of thoſe, who condemn (or perhaps commend) what they do not underſtand. For it is with Books, as with Perſons; they who are moſt trifling, and capable of giving leaſt Inſtruction or Benefit by their Converſation, are commonly underſtood at the firſt or ſecond Interview; and ſeldom fail to pleaſe for a Time; becauſe the Eye is always moſt ſenſibly ſtruck with Beauties which are moſt ſuperficial and glaring: But wherever there is any inſtructive Good, or real Worth, it is generally ſo couch'd as not to be preſently ſeen by a ſlight external View; but the more we grow acquainted with the Object, the more we are delighted with it's Excellency, and the higher Eſteem we have of its intrinſic Merit. Truth loves to unveil herſelf to the patient, humble, and impartial Mind; but ſcorns to expoſe her Charms

Charms to the vulgar Eyes of traditional Superſtition, or the unequal Enquiries of prejudiced Infidelity; to the narrow Views of Popularity, Pride, or Intereſt; the haſty Concluſions of Self-conceit; the raſh Judgment of partial Zeal; or the ſhallow Perceptions of Indolence, or Levity.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE Tradition, that generally obtain'd with the *Romans* concerning the Origin of their State, was, that *Æneas* after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, with a few *Trojans*, who had eſcap'd the Flames, and the Swords of the Enemy, ſail'd into that Part of *Italy*, which is ſituate on the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Tiber*, and was called *Latium*. *Latinus* the then King of *Latium* gave *Æneas* his Daughter *Lavinia*; and the Aborigines of the Country, in conſequence of this Marriage, amicably joining with the *Trojans*, they became powerfull enough to conquer the *Rutuli* with the *Hetrurians* their Allies[a], and ſecure the Kingdom to *Latinus* and his new Son-in-Law; who reign'd both together over the two Nations, united under the common Name of *Latins*. At the Deceaſe of *Latinus* the Government was confirm'd to *Æneas* alone, whoſe Son *Aſcanius*, after his Father's Death, left *Lavinium* the Capital of *Latium*, and built a City on the Side of a Hill; which he call'd *Long Alba*. Here he and his Poſterity reign'd by Succeſſion quite down to *Amulius* the 15th King of the *Latins*[b].

Amulius had forcibly ſeized on the Kingdom in Violation of the hereditary Right of *Numitor*

[a] *Liv.* lib. i. [b] *Liv. Dionyſ.* et *Euſeb.*

his elder Brother; whoſe Daughter *Rhea* he made a *Veſtal* Prieſteſs, thereby intending to cut off all Poſſibility of having the Kingdom retaken from him, by any of his Brother's Deſcendants. But theſe Meaſures prov'd ineffectual. For though her ſacred Function enjoin'd perpetual Virginity under Pain of being buried alive, yet the young Lady was bold enough to break through the Tie of her Religion, and carry on a ſecret Amour with ſome unknown Lover, till ſhe was brought to Bed of two Twins, *Romulus* and *Remus*. The Infants were expos'd on the Banks of the *Tiber*, in a Manner not much unlike the Story of *Moſes*; but Providence interpoſing for their Preſervation, they were taken up and educated by *Fauſtulus* a Shepherd, and his Wife, a common Proſtitute, call'd in *Latin*, *Lupa*, which ſignifies a *She Wolf*; whence ſome Authors affirm the Children were found and ſuckled by a Wolf[c]. When they came to Age, they kill'd *Amulius*, and reſtored the Kingdom to *Numitor* their Grand-Father[d]. After which the Youths left *Alba* the Royal Seat of *Numitor*, and undertook the building a City on the Banks of the *Tiber*, on the ſame Spot[e] where they had been expoſed to Death in their Infancy. But a Quarrel ariſing between the two Brothers, *Remus* was ſoon taken off; and *Romulus* the Founder of the new City remain'd its ſole King; and call'd it (as is the vulgar Tradition) after his own Name, *Rome*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* intimates more than once, that the Time from

[c] *Liv.* lib. i. *Flor.* i. cap. i. *Id.* ibid. et *Liv.* lib. i.

[d] *Plutarch.* in *Romulo.*

the

the Taking of *Troy* to the Building the City was 432 Years. This was not far from the Reign of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*. Before Christ An. 752.

Romulus ſoon peopled his little City by opening an *Aſylum* or Place of Refuge for Renegado's of all Ages and Denominations, who came in great Numbers from every Quarter. Out of this promiſcuous Coalition he pick'd 100 of the graveſt Elders to compoſe his Senate, and divided the reſt into three *Centuries*, afterwards called *Tribes* [f], that they might be readily ſummon'd forth on any Emergency. But having but few Women in his City, he invited the neighbouring People with their Wives and Daughters to the Celebration of the *Conſualia*, which were ſacred Games in honour of *Conſus*, the God of *Counſel*, whom the later *Romans* will have to be *Neptune* [g]; and in the midſt of the Feſtival ordered the young Men of *Rome* to ruſh out upon the Girls, and ſeize every one his Wife [h]: Upon which a War enſuing, he ſlew the King of the *Ceninenſes* in the Field; ſpoil'd him of his Armour, and dedicated it to *Jupiter Feretrius*, at the ſame time marking out the Bounds of a Temple to that Deity on the Capitoline Hill. To this Vow of *Romulus*, the firſt of that kind made at *Rome*, the moſt magnificent Temple of *Jupiter*, commonly call'd the Capitol, ow'd its firſt Origin [i]. For all theſe Atchievements, the *Romans* after his Death (the Manner of which is unknown) worſhip'd him as a God under the Name of *Quirinus*: And as *Æneas* was ſuppoſed *Conſualia.*

[f] *Liv.* lib. i. *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. i. cap. v. lib. i. *Dionyſ. Hal.* lib. ii. *Plutarc.* in *Romulo.*
[g] *Liv.*
[h] See the Note on the *Mother of the Gods*, Book I.
[i] *Liv.* lib. i. et lib. iv.

the Son of *Venus*, they would have *Mars* to be the Father of *Romulus*, that by this excellent Device all the Beauties of Peace and Glories of War might ſeem to unite in adorning that State, which derived its Source from the *Goddeſs of Love* and the *God of Battles*, the two great Principles of Nature and Springs of Action. This ingenious Fiction was undoubtedly introduced in the firſt Ages of the *Roman* State. For tho' we find no expreſs Mention of *Venus* in any Liſt of Deities in the Times of their Kings; yet it is more than probable, ſhe was worſhipped by the primitive *Romans* under ſome other Name. For April, the ſecond Month of the Year, as divided by *Romulus* into 10 Months, was in the Time of their Commonwealth dedicated to *Venus*, not only becauſe it immediately followed March, the Month ſacred to *Mars*; but from a Suppoſition that the very Title of the Month alluded to Ἀφροδίτη, *Aphrodite*, the *Greek* Name of the Goddeſs [k].

Numa. Before Chriſt An. 713.

Numa Pompilius, a *Sabine*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, appointed the Ceremonies of Divine Service, ſettled the Rites of Divination, conſtituted the ſeveral Orders of Prieſts and Divines; and in a long peaceful Reign of 43 Years [l] did nothing but calculate Times, build Churches, compoſe Liturgies, and found an Eccleſiaſtical Polity for the Eſtabliſhment of the Religion of the State by Law; the Principles of which he pretended to receive by Inſpiration from the Goddeſs *Egeria*.

Tullus Hoſtilius. An. 671.

He was ſucceeded by *Tullus Hoſtilius* a Prince of a Martial Spirit; during whoſe Reign the

[k] *Ovid. Faſt.* lib. iv. [l] *Plutarch.* in *Numa.*

Romans

Romans were perpetually at War with their Neighbours. In a Battle with the *Veientes* and the *Fidenates* their Allies, *Metius Suffetius* King of the *Albans*, then in Alliance with *Rome*, commanded the Right Wing againſt the *Fidenates*, and *Tullus* with his *Romans* in the Left engaged the *Veientes*. While *Tullus* was in the Heat of Action, *Metius*, inſtead of charging the Foe, drew off his *Albans*, with a Deſign to join that Party which ſhould prove ſtrongeſt. By this unexpected Deſertion the *Romans* were left uncover'd, and expos'd to the whole Fury of the Battle. But the *Roman* King, being inform'd of what was done, cries out with a loud Voice, that it was by his Order *Metius* had wheeled about with his Corps to ſurround the Enemy and attack them in the Rear. This Artifice of *Tullus* not only re-animated his own Soldiers, but ſo intimidated the Enemy, that the *Romans* gain'd a complete Victory. When the Battle was over, *Tullus* order'd *Metius* to be tied to two Chariots, the Horſes of which, being driven oppoſite ways, tore him to Pieces, as a ſuitable Puniſhment for his Double-Dealing. This done, *Roman* Soldiers were diſpatch'd to demoliſh *Alba*, the Royal Seat of their Forefathers, and tranſlate all the Wealth and Inhabitants to *Rome*: Where the two Kindred Nations were rejoin'd, and became one People [m]. Before Chriſt. An. 665.

Tullus being kill'd with a Thunder-bolt, *Ancus Martius*, *Numa's* Grandſon, was choſen his Succeſſor. He was chiefly employ'd during his whole Reign in Fortifying the City, and making it more large, commodious, and beautiful, by *Ancus Martius.* An. 638.

[m] *Flor.* lib. i. cap iii.

the Addition of many useful and magnificent Buildings.

Tarquinius Priscus. Before Christ An. 614. After his Death, which was natural, the hereditary Claim of his Sons was superseded; and the Crown given to *Tarquinius Priscus*, a *Corinthian*; who augmented the Number, and rais'd the Dignity of the Senate. He introduced the Badges and Ornaments of the Magistrates, such as Rods, Robes of State, Gold-Rings, embroider'd Gowns, gilded Chariots for Triumphs, and all the pompous Ensigns of Authority [n]. He was the first that entred the City in Triumph [o], for a Victory gain'd over the *Sabines*, which Custom continued about 850 Years, till the Reign of the Emperor *Probus*, who is said to be the last of the *Roman* Generals, honour'd with a Triumph [p]. The Temple of *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*, or Citadel of *Rome*, was founded by this Prince: But he did not live to finish it, being kill'd by the Sons of *Ancus Martius* his Predecessor.

Servius Tullius An. 576. *Census.* *Servius Tullius*, born a Slave [q], was the sixth King of *Rome*. He it was that instituted the *Census*; by which is meant a Muster or Survey of all the Citizens, together with the Valuation of their particular Estates. This was afterwards perform'd every five Years by Officers appointed for that Purpose and call'd *Censors*; who besides were impower'd to inspect into the moral Conduct of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, and at the End of five Years to make a solemn Attonement for the People by Sacrifice, which was call'd *Lustration*, or *Burying* the *Lustrum*. In this King's Reign the Number of Citizens

Condere Lustrum.

[n] *Flor.* lib. i. cap. v. *ab Alex.* lib. vi. cap. 6. [o] *Eutrop.* lib. i. [p] *Alex.* [q] *Flor.* lib. i cap. vi. *Liv.* lib. i.

taken

taken at the *Census* was, inclusive of Country-Men, 84,000. He likewise improved upon *Romulus's* Plan, and divided the City into four Tribes, which were afterwards increas'd to 35 [r]. The Ranks or Orders of the Knights, Gentry, and others, he call'd *Classes* [s]. These were again subdivided into *Centuries*, in so nice and regular a Manner, that their several Estates, Dignities, Ages, and Professions might be known by inspecting the public Records. The whole was so conducted that the Rich had the Care and Patronage of a certain Number of Poor, proportion'd to the Rate of their respective Estates. These poor Dependants were call'd Clients, and the Ties between them and their Patrons became so sacred among the *Romans*, that it was deem'd by their Laws a Capital Crime for a Patron to deceive or injure his Client, whom he was to reckon nearer to him than any Relation, except his Children [t]. *Servius* was at last kill'd by *Tarquin*, his Successor, and Son-in-Law by marrying his Daughter *Tullia*; who was likewise accessary to the Murther of her Father. *Tarquinius Superbus.* Before Christ 532.

The last King of the *Romans* was *Tarquin*, surnam'd *The Proud*. He finish'd the *Capitol*, and was very successful in his Wars with the neighbouring Nations. But his haughty Behaviour and Tyrannous Abuse of Power rendred him so odious to his Subjects, that he was at last dethron'd and expell'd the City on account of a

[r] *Cicero* in *Verr.* i. et *Asconius* ad locum. *Cic.* De lege Agrar. ii & Philip. vi. *Liv.* lib. i. xxix. & xlv *Val. Max.* lib. ii. cap. iv. *Appian* Bell. Civ. lib. i. *Pomp. Fest.* lib. iii.
[s] *Liv.* lib. i. *Flor.* lib. i. cap. vi [t] *A. Gell.* lib v. c. xiii. *Servius* ad *Aen.* vi. Vers. 609.

Rape committed by one of his Sons on *Lucretia* a *Roman* Lady. The Story is as follows.

Lucretia's Story. *Tarquin* had inveſted *Ardea* a Town of the *Rutuli*, about 18 Miles from *Rome*. His three Sons *Titus*, *Aruns*, and *Sextus*, were with him in the Army. As this was a long Siege, Leave of Abſence was frequently given to the Officers of Diſtinction, to go to *Rome* about their private Affairs. It happen'd that *Sextus Tarquin*, the King's youngeſt Son, made an Entertainment one Evening at his Tent, before the Town, for his Brothers and the other Princes of the Blood; among whom were *Brutus*, Son of *Tarquinia*, the King's Siſter, and *Collatine Tarquin*, Nephew to the King; for it is the general Opinion, that the King's Father and *Collatine's* were Brothers[*]. After Supper the Royal Youths, being merry with Drinking, among other Topics of Diſcourſe, began a Diſpute, which of the Company had the beſt Wife. *Collatine* propoſed, as the ſureſt way of Trial, to mount their Horſes immediately, and by coming upon each of their Wives unawares, ſee, which of them was employ'd in a Manner moſt becoming the Marriage-State. The Propoſal pleas'd; and the whole Company rode away immediately, firſt to *Rome*, where they found the other Ladies engaged either with ceremonious Viſiters, or in idle Diverſions. From thence they proceeded to *Collatine's* Houſe at *Collatia*, about five or ſix Miles from the City, and entring abruptly, found *Lucretia* ſitting at Work among her Maids, and directing each in her Duty, with all the Dignity of a ſober, chaſte, and frugal Matron. The

[*] *Liv.* lib. i. *Eutrop.* lib. i.

Diſpute was ſoon decided in Favour of *Lucretia*; and *Collatine* was unanimouſly allow'd to have the beſt Wife. But *Sextus*, being ſmitten with the Beauty and ſweet Behaviour of *Lucretia*, from that Moment conceiv'd a Deſign of attacking her Virtue. Accordingly a few Days after he returns to *Collatia* in the Evening, with only one Attendant, and goes to *Lucretia's* Houſe, as on a friendly Viſit. The Lady, without the leaſt Suſpicion of Evil, receiv'd him very courteouſly, and entertain'd him in a Manner ſuitable to his Character. After Supper he was conducted to a beautiful Apartment, where he was to lie; becauſe he had intimated he ſhould not return to the Camp till the next Day. At the dead of Night, when all the Family was aſleep, he breaks into *Lucretia's* Chamber, and ſtanding by her Bed-ſide with his Sword drawn, whiſpers to her, that he was *Sextus Tarquin*, and that if ſhe made the leaſt Noiſe he would immediately ſtab her. He then proceeds to uſe all poſſible Means to bring her over to his Purpoſe, ſometimes threatning, ſometimes promiſing, and ſometimes intreating. But the Lady continuing inflexibly virtuous, he told her at laſt, that if ſhe perſiſted in her Obſtinacy, he would not only kill her, but cut the Throat of one of the Men-Servants, and put him into her Bed, and tell her Huſband that he caught his Wife in the Act of Adultery with his Slave, and that, being jealous for the Honour of his Family, he had in his Anger kill'd them both. Of all the Paſſions of the Soul the Power of Pride is moſt extenſive. By this, as by a Spring, the ſeveral Movements of the human Mind are actuated and directed. It is to this Principle we

are

are beholden for moſt of that Valour and Virtue the World ſo much admires; ſince the moſt famous Heroes and Heroines of all Ages, acting from this Motive, have dreaded a Wound in their Character, more than the Loſs of their Innocence, and have therefore taken the utmoſt Care not ſo much to avoid the Guilt of being culpable, as the Shame of appearing ſo. This was ſufficiently verified in *Lucretia*, that celebrated Example of conjugal Faith and Chaſtity. She who had been deaf to Prayers and Intreaties, had rejected all offer'd Rewards, and had remain'd intrepidly firm againſt the Threats of Death itſelf, was conquer'd by the Fear of Diſgrace; and chuſing rather to yield up her Honour, than have it falſely impeach'd, ſhe endured Adultery to ſave herſelf from the Scandal of an *Adultreſs*. *Tarquin*, having gain'd his Ends, return'd to the Camp. But *Lucretia* diſpatches Letters immediately to her Father *Spurius Lucretius*, and to her Huſband; who came accompanied, the former by *Publius Valerius*, the latter by *Brutus*. As ſoon as they entred the Houſe, the Lady, with a dejected Look and a melancholy Voice, related the Story of her Wrong; and having recommended to them to revenge the Indignity, ſtabb'd herſelf with a Knife conceal'd for that Purpoſe under her Cloaths. Her dead Body was by *Brutus's* Direction carried out and expos'd to public View; and, the more to inflame the Minds of the People againſt the Family of the *Tarquins*, the Story was told with ſuch exaggerating Circumſtances, firſt at *Collatia*, then at *Rome*, and laſtly to the Army before *Ardea*, that it prov'd the Occaſion of aboliſhing Kingly Power at *Rome*, and altering the Con-

Conſtitution of the *Romans*, after they had been ruled by ſeven Kings for the Space of 244 Years [x].

Upon the Expulſion of *Tarquin* and his Sons, the ſupreme Power was lodged in the Hands of two *Conſuls*, who were to be elected by the People and their Government to laſt no longer than one Year; that the Shortneſs of their Power (ſays *Salluſt* [y]) might not permit them to grow inſolent. *Brutus*, and *Collatine*, *Lucretia's* Huſband, who had been moſt active in driving out the King and his Family, were choſen the two firſt Conſuls of *Rome*: But *Collatine* was oblig'd to relinquiſh his new Dignity on account of his near Relation to *Tarquin*; who was ſo odious to the *Romans*, that they could not endure, that one of his Family and Name ſhould remain in the City. *Valerius Poplicola* was ſubſtituted in his Room; who ceded the Power of Life and Death to the People [z], by granting them the Privilege of an Appeal from the Conſuls in criminal Matters; and put in Execution every popular Meaſure, that could conduce to make the *Romans* more in Love with the Liberty obtain'd by the late Revolution. Conſuls. Before Chriſt An. 507.

While the two Conſuls were thus zealouſly employ'd in promoting the public Weal, ſome young Noblemen form'd a ſecret Conſpiracy in order to effect the Reſtoration of the baniſh'd King: But the Plot being diſcover'd, the Conſpirators, among whom were the Sons and Nephews of *Brutus*, ſuffer'd capital Puniſhment, *Brutus* himſelf ſtanding by, and ordering the *Brutus* executes his own Sons for Treaſon.

[x] *Liv.* et *Dionyſ. Halic.* lib. i. [y] Bell. Cat. [z] *Liv.* *Flor.* lib. i. cap. ix.

Execu-

Execution of his own Children [a]. After this, *Tarquin* having applied to the *Veientes* and other neighbouring Cities for Aſſiſtance, a Battle enſued; in which *Brutus* kill'd *Aruns*, *Tarquin's* Son, with his own Hand, and being wounded himſelf, fell down and expired upon him. Several other Alliances were form'd in Favour of the Royal Family. But the *Romans* having created a new Officer, called a *Dictator*, and inveſted him with diſcretional Power, to act no longer than ſix Months [b], they ſucceſsfully defended their Liberties; and *Tarquin* was at laſt oblig'd to retire, and give up all Hopes of ever recovering his Kingdom.

Dictator created.

Before Chriſt An. 492.

But not long after, the Nobility of *Rome* aſſuming too much, on the Merits of their Anceſtors, and fooliſhly claiming a Right to oppreſs the State, becauſe their Fathers had done it Service, the Commons made a Defection; nor could be reconciled, till they had obtain'd the Privilege of creating two new Magiſtrates to defend their Liberties [c] from the Pride and Encroachments of the Nobility. Theſe Magiſtrates were called *Tribunes of the Commons*, and were veſted with Power, in many Reſpects ſuperior to that of the Conſuls. Their Number was afterward increaſed to ten; and their Authority held ſo ſacred, that they were call'd *Sacroſancti*: For, tho' they had a Right to puniſh [d] Delinquents of every Office and Quality (the Dictator only excepted) themſelves were accountable to none but the People [e]. Their In-

Tribunes of the Commons

[a] *Liv.* lib. i. *Virg. Aen.* vi. verſ. 817. &c. [b] *Liv.* lib. i. *Plutarch.* in *Camillo.* [c] *Liv.* lib. ii. *Dionyſ. Hal.* lib. vi. [d] *A. Gellius*, lib. xiii. cap. xii. [e] *Plutar.* in *Tib. Gracch.*

ſtitution was certainly very ſalutary to the Republic; and tho' ſome Tribunes carried their Power beyond due Bounds, yet they may juſtly be call'd the Bulwarks of the *Roman* Liberty. For by their Means the People afterwards obtain'd, that one Conſul at leaſt ſhould always be choſen out of the Commons; and that no Laws ſhould be enacted, tending to enſlave or impoveriſh the People [f]. For the Tribunes had the Privilege of a Negative Voice; and might, if they thought proper, hinder any Law from paſſing [g] by ſtanding up and pronouncing the Word *Veto, I forbid.*

Hitherto the *Romans* had been govern'd by Cuſtom and the Authority of the Chief Magiſtrates without any Body of written Laws. But it was now thought requiſite to fix the Balance between the ſeveral Orders of the Community, by ſtanding Laws in Writing. To this end Delegates were diſpatch'd to *Athens* to collect a Syſtem of Laws from that wiſe and learned People. At their Return the Conſular Power was diſcontinued, and Ten new Magiſtrates were created under the Title of *Decemviri.* Theſe regulated the Laws brought from *Athens*, and had them written on Ten Tables of Braſs, to which were added Two more the next Year: And theſe Twelve Tables contain'd the whole Body of the *Roman* Laws, at that Time, relating to Religion, Polity, and private Property. The Rule of the *Decemviri* however was but of ſhort Duration. For one of them, *Appius Claudius*, deſigning to deflower the Daughter of *Virginius* an Officer in the Army, employ'd one

Before Chriſt 451.

Laws of the XII Tables.

[f] *Liv.* lib. xxvii. et xxxix. cap. 26.

[g] Vide *Tacit.* Annal. 16.

of

of his Creatures to lay Claim to her, as to his Slave; and to proſecute his pretended Right by Law. This was accordingly put in Execution, and the Cauſe brought for a Hearing before *Appius*, who ſoon gave Judgment in Favour of the Claimant. But the Father of the Virgin ſtabb'd her with his own Hand, to free her from the Diſhonour deſigned her by the Decemvir; and with the Aſſiſtance of *Icilius*, to whom ſhe had betrothed her, rais'd a Sedition in the Army, which ended in the Abolition of the Decemviral Power, the third Year after it's Inſtitution [h].

What *Salluſt* [i] obſerves of the *Athenians*, that their Affairs are celebrated as miraculous thro' the whole World, only in Proportion to the Number and Genius of their Writers, who extoll'd them, may with equal Juſtice be applied to other Nations. The *Roman* Hiſtorians relate many pompous Stories of the Tranſactions of their Anceſtors both before and after the Abolition of Kingly Power, and extoll the perſonal Valour of particular Citizens even to the Height of poetic Fiction. But notwithſtanding all thoſe oſtentatious Traditions, ſupported by frequent Miracles and Prodigies, there is very little in the *Roman* Hiſtory worth relating, till the firſt *Punic* or *Carthaginian* War, if we except the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls* in the Year of the City 365. *Fabius* the Conſul had oppos'd their Progreſs, but receiv'd a complete Overthrow with all his Army at the River *Allia*, about eleven Miles from *Rome*. This Battle was fought on the 18th of July [k], which was afterwards mark'd as

Rome burnt. Before Chriſt An. 387.

[h] Conſule ſis *Liv.* lib. iii. et *Dionyſ. Hal.* lib. ii. [i] Bell. Cat. [k] Vid. *Liv.* lib. vi. poſt principium, et *Tacit.* Annal. xv. c. xli.

a black

a black unlucky Day in the *Roman* Calendar. The Battle ended, the Gauls advanced to *Rome*; which they entred the next Day, put to Death all they met, and laid the City in Aſhes. About 1000 of the Youth had retired into the *Capitol*, under the Command of *Manlius*; where they ſuſtain'd a Siege of ſix Months, nor could the *Gauls* in all that Time take the Citadel, either by Storm or Surprize. One Night indeed they almoſt effected the latter; but the Watch being alarm'd by the Cackling of ſome Geeſe, *Manlius* repelled the Enemy, and ſav'd the *Capitol*; upon which account Geeſe were afterwards reckon'd ſacred Animals and maintain'd, together with Dogs, at the public Expence, for a Guard to that Temple [1]. The *Romans* at laſt ſtipulated with the *Gauls*, that the latter ſhould depart on the Payment of 1000 *lb.* Weight of Gold; but by the Intervention of *Camillus*, whom the *Romans* had before baniſhed, and now recalled from his Exile in *Ardea*, the Bargain was null'd, and the *Gauls* driven from *Rome* with great Slaughter.

The *Gauls* being diſpers'd, the *Romans* rebuilt their City, making magnificent and ſtately Houſes, where only Cottages had ſtood before; ſo that *Rome* roſe with augmented Glory, like a Phœnix, from her own Aſhes. After continual Fights and Skirmiſhes with their Neighbours, the *Romans*, under *Dolabella*, gave the *Gauls* a final Overthrow, took their City *Sena*, and made it a *Roman* Colony; and then ſtretch'd their Conqueſts in *Italy*, as far as *Tarentum*; the

[1] *Cicero.* pro *Sext. Roſcio.*

Inha-

Before Christ 281. Inhabitants of which, aided by *Pyrrhus* [m] King of *Epirus*, a Country on the *Ionian* Sea, South of *Macedonia*, held them in War almoſt four Years [n], but were at laſt entirely defeated; and the *Romans* remain'd Maſters of *Italy*. Elate with this firſt Conqueſt of a Foreign Enemy, and not content with their preſent Dominions, they reſolved to augment them by the Addition of *Sicily*. That Iſland was at the ſame Time claim'd by the *Carthaginians*, whence aroſe the firſt *Punic* War, in which for the firſt four Years the Succeſs was various. But in the fifth Year the *Romans* gain'd their firſt Victory by Sea. For having built in ten Weeks Time 160 Veſſels [o], and given their Command to *Duillius* the Conſul, they beat the *Carthaginians* in a Sea-Engagement, and then carried the War into *Africa*: Where they at firſt met with ſome Succeſs; but were afterwards overcome by the *Carthaginians*, whom they beat again at *Sicily*, and wreſted the Iſland out of their Hands.

First *Punic* War. An. 264.

An. 241. A Peace was made with the *Carthaginians*; and the *Romans* ſhut the double Gates of *Janus's* Temple [p]. But ſoon after, the ſecond *Punic* War broke out, 534 Years [q] from the Building of the City. *Hannibal* had ſubdued all *Spain* within the River *Iberus*, and taken and ſack'd the Town *Saguntum*, then in Alliance with *Rome*. This the *Romans* reſenting, declared War againſt the *Carthaginians*, as Violators of the Treaty. Upon which *Hannibal*, having paſs'd the *Pyrenean*

Second *Punic* War. An. 218.

[m] Vide *Plutarc.* in *Pyrrho*. *Pauſani.* lib. i. *Paul. Oroſ.* lib. iv. cap. i. *Epitom.* ad *Liv.* lib. xii, xiii, xiv. [n] *Flor.* lib. i. cap. xix. [o] Idem lib ii. cap. ii. [p] *Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. *Oroſius* lib. iv. cap. x. [q] Vide *Polybi.* lib. iii. et vi.

Moun-

Mountains, and the *Alps*, penetrated into *Italy*, and beat the *Romans* in three ſucceſſive Battles. After ſome little Stop put to the Progreſs of the *Carthaginians* by the ſlow and prudent Meaſures of *Quintus Fabius* the Conſul, another important Battle was fought at *Cannæ*, a little Village of *Apulia*; where were ſlain [r] of the *Romans* 40,000 Foot, 2,700 Horſe, with an equal Number of Allies and Citizens; among theſe were one of the Conſuls, two Quæſtors, twenty-one Military Tribunes, and eighty of the Senatorian Dignity; 3,000 Foot and 300 Horſe were taken Priſoners: And had *Hannibal* after this great Victory proceeded immediately to the City, *Rome* muſt have fallen under the *Carthaginian* Power. But Fate had decreed, that the *Romans* ſhould be Lords of that Part of the World; which was effected not ſo much by their own Valour, as thro' the iniquitous Adminiſtration of *Hanno*, Head of a Faction at *Carthage*, and *Hannibal*'s bitter Enemy; who by Corruption and Venality in the Senate undid all, that the greateſt General in the World had atchiev'd in the Field. Supplies of Men and Money were either denied, or ſent too late to be of any Service; his Progreſſes were impeded by Counter-Orders; and his Counſels either corrupted, or betray'd to the Enemy. The *Romans*, having conquered *Hannibal*'s Brothers, and retaken the principal Towns in *Spain* under the Juriſdiction of the *Carthaginians*, made a Diverſion into *Africa*; where *Scipio*, aſſiſted by *Maſiniſſa*, King of *Numidia*, gain'd ſeveral important Victories, and at laſt overthrew *Hannibal* in a deciſive Battle. *Carthage* was oblig'd

Before Chriſt, An. 214.

An. 199.

[r] *Liv.* lib. 22.

to ſue to *Rome* for a Peace, and accept it on ſuch Terms, as it pleas'd her Rival to impoſe, being reduc'd to this Neceſſity by the Envy of *Hannibal*'s Glory [f]. This important Conqueſt gained over a formidable Enemy, that had terrified, weaken'd, and diſtreſs'd them in a ſecond War of nineteen Years, ſo ſenſibly affected the Senate with Joy, that *Scipio* for the Atchievement was honoured with the Title of *Aſiaticus*; which was the firſt Inſtance [t] of a Cuſtom, that obtain'd ever after among the *Romans*, of calling their Generals and Emperors by honorary Appellations relative to the ſeveral Countries they had conquered.

The *Romans* had been reduced to the laſt Diſtreſs by *Hannibal*, who by beating them taught them to conquer, 'till they roſe from their Calamities into Glory and Power. The *Athenians*, being oppreſſed by *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*; who defeated the King, and reſtored to the *Greeks* their Liberty. But *Perſes*, *Philip*'s Son, the laſt King of the *Macedonians*, about 150 Years after *Alexander* the Great, renewing the Quarrel, the *Romans* gave him a total Overthrow. *Hannibal* had fled to *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; which was ſufficient to give the Senate of *Rome* a new Alarm. For tho' *Antiochus* was a weak effeminate Prince, incapable of any martial Enterprize, yet as *Hannibal* was with him, he was reckon'd formidable; the very Name of the *Carthaginian* being more terrible to *Rome* than the Sight of whole Armies of Enemies. However *Antiochus* never truſted *Hannibal* with any

First *Macedonic* War. Before Chriſt. An. 198.

Second *Macedonic* War, An. 169.

[f] *Corn. Nep.* in vita *Hannib.* *Juſtin.* lib. 38. cap. 4.
[t] *Liv.* lib. 30. ad finem.

Thing

Thing above the Command of a few Ships, which were ſunk and diſpers'd by the Enemy; and *Hannibal* oblig'd to fly to *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*, where he poiſon'd himſelf [v]. For the *Romans* had ſent to demand him, as thinking themſelves in perpetual Danger, while that great General ſurviv'd, tho' without an Army, who had once advanced to within three Miles of their City.

Macedonia ſoon after became a Province to *Rome*. *Carthage* again renew'd the War; but after four Years that City, the moſt formidable Rival of the *Roman* Greatneſs, was utterly demoliſh'd; and *Rome*, now freed from the greateſt and longeſt Terror ſhe ever ſuffer'd, ſtretch'd her Conqueſt over *Greece* and *Spain*; and then carried her Arms again into *Aſia*. Third *Punic* War. Before Chriſt. An. 150. An. 145.

After the Overthrow of *Ariſtonicus*, King of *Pergamus*, *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, kept the *Romans* in War for ſeveral Years, prevailing not ſo much by Arms as Money [x]. For with rich Preſents, ſeaſonably applied, he corrupted the Senate, bribed the Generals, and protracted the War, 'till it grew a ſerious Affair, and *Jugurtha* began to be formidable. *Metellus* was the firſt that effectually weaken'd his Power; but *Marius*, having obtain'd the Province of *Numidia*, put an End to the long inglorious War: For after a bloody Battle fought near *Cirtha*, in which the *Romans* came off with ſome little Advantage; *Jugurtha* was treacherouſly betray'd by *Bocchus*, King of the *Moors*, his Ally [y], and delivered up to *Sylla*, *Marius*'s Legate. *Sylla* *Jugurthine* War. An. 109.

[v] *Cor. Nep.* in vita *Hann.* *Aurel. Victor.* in *Han.*
[x] *Salluſt.* Bell. *Jug.* [y] Idem ibid.

carried him to *Marius*, who return'd to *Rome* in Triumph, with *Jugurtha* his Captive, bound in Chains, to grace the Proceſſion.

Before Chriſt, An. 105.

After this *Rome* was miſerably waſted with Civil War; which fill'd her Streets and Fields with the Carcaſes of her own Citizens and Allies: *Sylla*, *Cinna* and *Marius* were the Heads of the contending Factions: Each conquer'd and tyranniz'd in his Turn. *Sylla* was at laſt victorious; but the Calamities ſtill exiſted, when the War was no more. The inſulting Victor let looſe his Vengeance on all that had eſpous'd the Cauſe of *Marius*, and revell'd in the Blood of Thouſands of his Fellow-Citizens.

An. 86.

Cataline's Conſpiracy, An. 61.

Soon after followed *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy; which was detected by the Vigilance and Cunning of *Cicero*, then Conſul. The Chief of the Conſpirators were executed in the City; and the other Conſul was ſent againſt *Cataline* and his Rebel Forces. This Action was ſharp and bloody: *Cataline* was kill'd in the Field, and his whole Army cut to Pieces [a].

During all theſe Civil Commotions at Home, an important War was carried on in the Eaſt, againſt *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*. That powerful Prince maintain'd a dubious Conteſt with the *Romans* for thirty Years [b], and was three Times beaten [c] before he could be quite ſubdued. The firſt Defeat of his Forces he received from *Sylla*; *Lucullus* gave him his ſecond Overthrow: But his final Ruin was completed by *Pompey*; who with *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*, had then the Management of all the *Roman* Affairs.

An. 83.

An. 72.

[a] *Salluſt.* Bell. *Cat.* [b] *Paul. Oros.* lib. 6. ad finem. *Florus* habet 40. ſed falſo. [c] Vide *Juven.* Sat. 6. Verſ. ult.

Pompey

Pompey overthrew the *Colchians*; ſtruck Terror into all the Nations round about; and in his Return penetrated into *Syria* and *Judea*. He entered *Damaſcus* and *Jeruſalem*, received Homage from the *Jews* [d], and extended the Power of *Rome* over great Part of *Aſia*. *Gaul* was reduced by *Julius Cæſar* in a Series of Battles for nine ſucceſſive Campaigns [e], in which he ſlew (if *Pliny* may be credited) 1,192,000 Enemies. But the *Parthians* gave the *Romans* a ſhameful Defeat under the Command of *Craſſus*; who was kill'd [f], and his Army entirely cut to Pieces, except a few that ſaved themſelves by Flight into *Armenia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria* [g]. Before Chriſt, An. 61.

And now a worſe Civil War broke out between *Cæſar* and his Son-in-law *Pompey*, which ſpread thro' all the Parts of the World within either the Dominion or Friendſhip of the *Romans*. After ſeveral Defeats and Succeſſes of *Pompey* and his Party, the ſignal Stroke was given near *Philippi*, in *Theſſaly*; where upwards of 300,000 Men [h] being engag'd, Fortune, after a bloody Diſpute, declared for *Cæſar*. *Pompey*, with a few Followers, fled to *Peluſium* in *Egypt*; where he was treacherouſly murthered in the Sight of his Wife and Friends [i] by Order of *Ptolemy* the young King, who happen'd to be there carrying on a War againſt his Siſter *Cleopatra*, whom he had a few Months before expelled her Kingdom [k]. His Death was not long unrevenged; for a War enſuing between An. 48.

[d] *Flor.* l. 3. c. 5. *Aurel. Victor.* in *Pomp.* [e] *Paterc.* lib. 2. c. 47. *Sueton.* in *Jul. Cæſ.* c. 25. [f] *Vell. Pat.* l. 2. c. 46. *Plutarch* in *Craſſo*. *Flor.* lib. 3. c. 11. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem lib. 4. c. 2. [i] *Lucan. Plutar. Appian.* & *Aurel. Victor.* [k] *Cæſar* de Bell. Civil. lib. 3.

Cæſar and *Ptolemy*, after ſeveral adverſe and proſperous Engagements, the perfidious King was vanquiſh'd in a deciſive Battle; from whence endeavouring to eſcape by Water he was drown'd, and the Kingdom of *Egypt* divided by *Cæſar*, between *Ptolemy*'s younger Brother, and his Siſter *Cleopatra* [l].

During theſe Tranſactions, *Scipio* and *Cato*, in Alliance with *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, renew'd the War in *Africa*: But *Cæſar* was ſtill victorious. *Juba* and *Scipio* were routed: The latter killed himſelf in his Flight; and *Cato*, who was then at *Utica*, upon hearing the fatal News, followed his Example. The laſt Scene of Action was at *Munda*, a Town in *Spain*, where *Cæſar* experienced a ſharp and dubious Conflict; in which he was ſunk almoſt to Deſperation. For his hardy Veterans retiring before *Pompey*'s Sons, he gave up all for loſt, and was going to diſpatch himſelf with his own Weapon [m]; but by a ſudden unaccountable Return of Spirits, aſſuming Courage from Deſpair, he leaps from his Horſe [n], *ruſhes into the thickeſt* of the Foe, and by *his own Example* reanimates his flying Troops, who immediately rallied, and at laſt utterly routed the Enemy.

Before Chriſt An. 43.

After this great Victory he returned to *Rome*, where he followed *Sylla*'s Example, and made himſelf *Perpetual Dictator*; than which nothing could be more incompatible with the Conſtitution of the *Romans*, who never choſe a Dictator, but upon ſome ſudden Emergency; and always obliged him to abdicate his Office, as ſoon as th

[l] *Hirt.* Bell. *Alex.* lib. 2. c. 55. [m] *Flor.* lib. 4. cap. 2. [n] *Paterc.*

the Situation of Affairs no longer required a Commander inveſted with ſuch abſolute Power. *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, at the Head of a Conſpiracy, made a bold Struggle for the Recovery of their Country's Freedom, by ſtabbing *Cæſar* in the Senate-Houſe. But their ill-timed Zeal was thrown away upon a degenerate Race of Vaſſals, who were unwilling, and therefore unworthy to be free. Slavery to ſuch Spirits was abſolutely neceſſary; and this Attempt was made by the miſtaken *Brutus* in an improper Age, and among *Romans*, who in nothing but the Name reſembled thoſe, who lived 465 Years before; when very different Succeſs attended the like heroic Patriotiſm of the former *Brutus*, his Anceſtor, in the Abrogation of Regal Power. The Senate indeed after *Cæſar*'s Death aboliſhed the Cuſtom of making a Dictator [o]; but *Rome* never after recovered her Liberty. *Cæſar* ſtabb'd. before Chriſt An. 42.

For *Mark Anthony* being look'd on as an Enemy by the Senate for his turbulent, factious and inſolent Behaviour, tho' *Cicero* could not perſuade them to judge him a Rebel in Form [p], *Octavius*, *Cæſar*'s Heir and Son by Adoption, was ſent as Proprætor with the two Conſuls, *Panſa* and *Hirtius*, at the Head of a powerful Army, to reduce him to Obedience. *Anthony* was at length put to Flight; but one of the Conſuls being ſlain in the Battle, and the other dying ſoon after, the Command of the Army remained in the Hands of *Octavius Cæſar*; who was made Conſul when he was but 20 Years old [q]; though the ordinary Cuſtom required the An. 41.

o *Cicero Philip.* I. *Dio* lib. 36. ult. p Vide *Cicer. Philip.* q *Vell. Pat.* lib. 2. c. 65.

Age of the Candidates for that Office to be 43 Years [r]. Through the Mediation of *Lepidus*, *Octavius* was reconciled to *Anthony*; and these three compoſed a Triumvirate fatal to the Liberty of *Rome*, and the Lives of her principal Citizens. For each Triumvir made a Point of ſacrificing his neareſt Relations in Complaiſance to his Collegues [s]. *Cicero* was in the Number of the Proſcrib'd, and was murthered in the 64th Year of his Age [t]; his Head and right Hand [u] were cut off and ſtuck up to public View on the Roſtrum, by *Anthony*'s Order, as a Revenge for thoſe poignant Speeches made againſt him by the incomparable Orator. *Octavius* and *Anthony* march'd their Forces into *Macedonia* againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, to revenge the Death of *Cæſar*; a Place of the ſame Name [x], but not the ſame Place, where *Pompey* had been ruin'd (as *Florus* erroneouſly aſſerts) was the Scene of Action. And tho' neither *Anthony* nor *Octavius* was in the Battle themſelves [y], yet their Parties remain'd Maſters of the Field. For the Wing where *Caſſius* commanded being put into Diſorder, he commanded one of his Officers to kill him, through a miſtaken Opinion that *Brutus* likewiſe was worſted. His Death ſo diſpirited the whole Army, that the Advantage *Brutus* had gain'd was in a few Days [z] overthrown; their Forces were routed, and *Brutus*, imitating the Example of *Caſſius*, died by the Hands of one of his Attendants.

Cicero put to Death

Brutus and *Caſſius* overthrown.

After this, *Sextus Pompeius*, one of *Pompey*'s Sons, who had eſcaped from the Battle at *Munda*,

Sextus Pompeius.

[r] *Cicer. Philip.* V. [s] *Paterc.* l. 2. c. 67. [t] *Liv.* & *Euſeb.* [u] *Dio* 47. [x] Vide *Riguez* ad *Paterc.* lib. 2. c. 70. [y] *Flor.* lib. 4. c. 7. [z] *Vell. Pat.* lib. 2. c. 70.

had

had ſeveral Engagements, with various Succeſs, both by Sea and Land, with *Octavius* and his Party; but was at laſt vanquiſhed in a Sea-fight, and obliged to fly with two or three Ships into *Aſia*, and was afterwards murthered at *Miletum*[a]. *Anthony*, who had obtained the Province of *Aſia*, received a total Overthrow from the *Parthians*. From thence he fled into *Egypt*; and having divorced *Octavius Cæſar's* Siſter, his former Wife, married *Cleopatra*, as if he deſigned to reign as King of *Egypt*. But *Octavius* reſenting the Affront, overcame *Anthony* in a Sea-fight at *Actium*; whence he fled back to *Egypt*, where he and *Cleopatra* died by their own Hands; and *Egypt* became a Province to the *Romans*.

Octavius now remained ſole Lord of *Rome* and her Dominions, which he governed under the Title of *Prince*[b]. For he had before ſo cruſhed *Lepidus* and his Faction in *Sicily*, that he obliged him to reſign his Share of the Government, and be contented with Leave to live[c]. He greatly inlarged the *Roman* Dominions, and ſhut the brazen Gates on each Side the Temple of *Janus*; which was the Sign of the *Romans* enjoying univerſal Peace, and had never been done but once before, ſince the Reign of *Numa*, who built that Temple[d]. Of all the Titles given him by the Senate, that of *Auguſtus* was thought the moſt ſacred; a Name adopted afterwards by all the ſucceding Em-

[a] *Strabo*. Geogr. lib. iii. [b] *Tacit*. Annal. lib. i. poſt principium. [c] *Paterc*. lib. ii. cap. 80. *Sueton*. in *Auguſt*. cap. 16. Epitome ad *Liv*. 129. [d] Vid. *Varro* de ling. *Latin*. lib. iv. *Plut*. de Fort. *Roman*. *Flor*. lib. iv. ad finem.

perors.

perors. He died at *Nola* in the forty-fourth Year of his Reign, which took its Commencement from the Sea-fight at *Actium* mentioned above.

Tiberius, A. D. 15. *Tiberius*, his Son by Adoption, and Succeſſor (in whoſe Time our Saviour was crucified) did not perform many great Actions, when he was Emperor; though before his Acceſſion to that Dignity, he had often ſignalized both his Conduct and Courage [a]. At the Beginning of his Reign he behaved with great Moderation and Equity: But afterwards leaving the City he retired into *Capreæ*, a little Iſland near *Campania*, where he indulged his moſt monſtrous Luſts, and perpetrated every kind of Cruelty. His Cuſtom was to invite to his Court the Kings of ſuch Nations, as he ſuſpected of Diſaffection; and when he had them in his Power, never to let them return to their Kingdoms [b]. Among theſe was the King of *Cappadocia*, whom he detained, and reduced his Kingdom into a *Roman* Province.

Caligula, A. D. 37. At his Demiſe the Imperial Purple was given to *Caligula*, on account of the admirable Virtues of his Father *Germanicus* [c], whom *Auguſtus* had obliged *Tiberius* to adopt; though *Tiberius* ſo hated him for his Popularity, that it was commonly thought, he effected his Death by Poiſon [d]. *Caligula* was more like his adoptive Grandfather, than his natural Father; running ſuch intolerable lengths of Cruelty, that he ſoon became as odious as his Predeceſſor. He undertook one Mock-Expedition againſt the *Germans*:

[a] *Paterc.* lib. ii. *Sueton.* in *Tiberio.* *Eutrop.* lib. vii. [b] Idem ibid. [c] *Sueton.* in *Calig.* c. 13. [d] Idem cap. 12.

for which he ordered himſelf a Triumph [e], tho' he had hardly ſeen the Enemy. He was murthered at laſt in his Palace [f], and was ſucceeded by *Claudius*, a Prince of a middle Character; who was rather culpable for *permitting* Injuſtice than *doing* it [g]. In ſhort, *Claudius* was ſo ſtupid, that he neither excelled much in Virtue nor Vice. He was the firſt after *Julius Cæſar* [h], that invaded our Iſland, firſt by *Plautus* his *Conſular Legate*, who ſo haraſſed and diſtreſſed the *Britons*, that the Emperor, a few Days after his landing on the Iſland, made himſelf Maſter of great Part of it without much Oppoſition [i]; for which he acted a pompous Triumph, as if himſelf had conquered by Arms, what was only ſurrendered through Terror and Diſſentions among the Natives. It is agreed on by all Hiſtorians, that his Death was effected by Poiſon, but by whom and in what Manner, is undecided [k]. *Claudius* A. D. 42.

Claudius however was an excellent Emperor, if compared with his Succeſſor *Nero*; who at firſt, indeed, ſet out in the Character of a great Reformer; nor are there wanting in his Life ſeveral Inſtances of many Civil Virtues [l], particularly Munificence, which he perſevered in to the End, or rather increaſed it to Prodigality. The two Vices to which he had an utter Averſion, were Stinginess and Hypocriſy. To avoid the former, he became profuſe; and to diſcountenance the latter, he gloried in his *Nero*, A. D. 55.

[e] *Suet.* in *Calig.* c. 47. [f] Idem c. 58. *Eutrop.* lib. vii. [g] Vid. *Auſonii* Epigr. in *Claudium* [h] *Sueton.* in *Claud.* cap. 17. *Tacit.* lib. vii. c. 14. *Eutrop.* lib. vii. [i] *Sueton.* in *Claud.* c. 17. [k] Idem ibid. c. 44. [l] *Sueton.* in *Nero.* c. 10.

Crimes;

Crimes; and always pardoned, and even careſſed thoſe, who confeſſed their Wickedneſs, from a Principle [m] he had imbibed, that there was no ſuch thing as Chaſtity among Men, only ſome had a Talent of hiding their vicious Thoughts under the Cloak of Sanctity. But the Sequel of his Reign was little elſe than a Series of complicated Evils both to *Chriſtians* and *Pagans*. To the former of theſe he was a bitter Enemy, as we are told by great Numbers of Authors. *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Nero*, expreſſes himſelf thus: *Very ſevere Tortures were inflicted on the Chriſtians, a Set of Men of a new and miſchievous Superſtition.* In his Time the *Britons* rebelled [n], and the *Romans* ſuffered the Loſs of near 70000 Citizens and Allies. At laſt he wantoned with Power, threw off all Care of Government, and devoted himſelf wholly to libidinous Pleaſures and theatrical Performances, in which he ſung and acted his Parts among common Stage-Players; till the State being no longer able to bear a Prince abandoned to Luxury, Luſt, and Cruelty, another Rebellion was raiſed againſt him nearer Home. The Senate judged him an Enemy, and demanded him for Puniſhment. Upon which he fled ſecretly out of the City to a little Country-houſe of *Sporus* his Freedman [o], about four Miles from *Rome*; where after much Whining and Lamentation, he diſpatched himſelf, being aſſiſted in the Deed by one of his Attendants.

Galba, A.D. 69. *Galba*, in whoſe Favour the Inſurrection was made, enjoyed the Sovereignty a little above

[m] *Suet.* in *Nero.* c. 29. [n] *Tacit.* An. 14. c. 33. *Suet.* in *Ner.* c. 39. [o] *Sueton.* in *Ner.* c. 49. *Eutrop.* lib. vii.

half

half a Year, and was then killed. For *Otho* ſtirred up the like Sedition againſt him, as he had headed againſt *Nero*. Nor did *Otho* himſelf ſurvive the Death of *Galba* but a few Months: For he had hardly been inveſted with the Imperial Purple, before *Vitellius*, being declared Emperor by the Forces under his Command, came againſt him. The two contending Parties met at *Bebriacum*, a little Town in *Italy*, between *Cremona* and *Verona*. After a ſhort Action, *Otho's* Troops were repulſed with ſome Loſs; the News of which ſo affected him, that he could never be prevailed upon to riſque another Battle, though he expected a conſiderable Reinforcement, and might probably have vanquiſhed his Rival [p], had he undertaken a ſecond Trial; inſtead of which, he ſaid he would not hazard the Lives of ſo many good Men for his Honour. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he took leave of his Friends without the leaſt Sign of Dejection, and went to Bed; where he ſlept ſoundly the whole Night; and as ſoon as he awoke in the Morning, took his Weapon, which he had laid under his Pillow for that Purpoſe, and ſtab'd himſelf. *Vitellius* thus obtained the ſupreme Power; but ſoon met with a very different End: For after a ſhort Reign of eight Months, in which he ſhewed many Inſtances of his tyrannic Diſpoſition, he was ſeized by a Faction in the Intereſt of *Veſpaſian*; who led him about the Streets with a Poniard under his Chin, to make him hold up his Head, while the Rabble pelted him with Stones and Dirt: After which they killed him, and dragged his Car-

Otho, A. D. 70.

Vitellius, A. D. 70.

[p] Vid. *Martial.* lib. vi. epigr. 32. *Sueton.* in *Oth.* c. 9.

caſe

caſe with a Hook, till it was thrown into the *Tiber* [q].

Veſpaſian. A. D. 71. *Veſpaſian* was made Emperor in *Palæſtine*; whither he had been ſent by *Nero* againſt the *Jews*, who were ſtirred up to a Revolt, by the Miſapplication of an Opinion that prevailed at that Time over all the Eaſt, namely, that the Offspring of *Judæa* ſhould obtain the Empire of the World [r]. He was deſcended from an obſcure Family; which he rather vaunted than concealed, thereby ſhewing, that he owed his Advancement ſolely to his Merit. In his Reign the City *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed; and ſeveral important Provinces were added to the *Roman* Dominions. He was ſo ſtrict a Maintainer of Military Diſcipline, that he indulged his Officers with no manner of Delicacy. It once happened that he had granted a Commiſſion to a Youth more famous for Finery than Fighting: But when the young Officer came to thank him for his Favour, dreſſed like a Beau, and ſcented with Perfumes, the Emperor looking ſternly on him, ſaid, with an angry Voice, *I had rather you had ſmelt of Garlick* [s]; and immediately ordered his Commiſſion to be taken from him, and given to a Soldier. He died in the 69th Year of his Age, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Titus*, who had been entruſted with the chief Command of the Forces at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, where he ſignalized his Bravery to the Admiration of the whole Army [t]. He was ſo beloved for his Humanity, that the *Romans* called him, *The Delight of Mankind*; ſo gene-

Titus, A. D. 80.

[q] *Sueton.* in *Vitell.* c. 17. *Eutrop.* lib. vii. [r] *Suet.* in *Veſp.* c. 4. [s] Idem c. 8. [t] Idem in *Tito.* c. 6.

rous and beneficent, that he told his Friends, he had loſt one Day becauſe he had done no good Office in it. He was prevented from doing the Good that was expected from him, by a premature Death; which ſo affected all Degrees and Orders of his Subjects, that his Loſs was mourned like that of a kind Parent; nor without Reaſon; for he was ſucceeded by his Brother *Domitian*, who was of a Nature very different from either his Father or Brother, reſembling *Tiberius* in Luſt, and *Caligula* in Cruelty. At firſt he behaved with great Moderation, and even Liberality. But theſe good Qualities were ſoon overpowered, and the contrary Vices dethroned his Reaſon, and ruled him with abſolute Controul. Nevertheleſs he was a good Soldier, and very ſucceſsful[v]. He likewiſe repaired ſeveral public Edifices of the City, which had been deſtroyed, and added many new ones of great Beauty and Magnificence; the Expence of which ſo exhauſted his Treaſury, that he was obliged to have Recourſe to Rapine and Extortion. He impoſed heavy Fines on every religious Sect, eſpecially *Judaiſm*; and extorted great Sums of Money from all, who were ſuſpected to be *Jews*; though they diſſembled their Religion to avoid the Penalty. *Suetonius*, an excellent Writer, aſſures us, he himſelf was preſent, when an old Man of ninety Years was ſearched for the Sign of Circumciſion. After he had for a long time made the Empire groan under the Preſſure of a cruel and vicious Tyranny, he was ſtab'd at laſt with ſeven Wounds in his own Bed-chamber[w].

Domitian, A. D. 82.

A. D. 97.

[v] *Sueton.* in *Domit.* c. 6. [w] Idem c. 17.

Having

Having given this ſhort Account of the firſt twelve Emperors of *Rome*, commonly called, *The twelve Cæſars*; before we proceed to the Lives of the other Emperors before *Commodus*, it may not be improper to recapitulate, and preſent the *Engliſh* Reader with a reflective View of the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire; that by being acquainted with the Number, Situation, and Extent of its Provinces, together with the Time of their Reduction, he may form clearer and juſter Ideas of the ſeveral Occurrences in the enſuing Hiſtory.

The *Roman* Dominions, A. D. 97.

The firſt Country out of *Italy*, that became tributary to the *Roman* State, was *Sardinia*. This Iſland was reduced to Subjection by the Conſul *Titus Manlius* [x], about five hundred and eighteen Years after the building of *Rome*. *Sicily* indeed was the firſt Country that the *Romans* called a Province [y]: But it was not governed by *Roman* Magiſtrates, conſequently could not be termed a Province, till the Year of the City 545, after ſucceſſive Wars, proſperous and adverſe, carried on in the Iſland for almoſt ſixty Years [z]. And about twenty-one Years after, *Ætolia* [a], a large Country in the very Heart of *Greece*, together with *Cephelenia*, *Zacynthus* (now called *Zant*) and all the Iſlands in the *Ionian* Sea, ſubmitted to the *Roman* Power. *Macedonia* was ſubdued by *Æmilius Paulus*, and laid under Tribute in the Year of *Rome* 516. After the Demolition of *Carthage*, *Africa* became a Province to *Rome* in the Year 606 [b]. Soon after, *Corinth*, the

Sardinia.
Sicily.
Ætolia.
Iſlands of the *Ionian* Sea.
Macedonia.
Africa.
Corinth and *Achaia.*

[x] *Liv.* lib. xxiii. *Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 38. *Eutrop.* lib. iii.
[y] *Cic.* in *Verr.* II. ad initium. [z] *Liv.* lib. xxvii. poſt principium. [a] *Liv.* lib. xxxviii. *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 12.
[b] Confer ſis *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 15. in initio cum *Eutrop.* lib. iv.

Metro-

Metropolis of *Achaia* in the *Peloponneſe*, was burnt, and all that Region brought under the *Roman* Yoke. Great Part of *Aſia the Leſs*, a Country bounded by the *Euxine* and *Mediterranean* Seas, with the adjacent Iſlands, was conquered by *Peperna*, and his Succeſſor [c], about ſix hundred twenty-four Years from the building the City; but *Galatia* had been ſubdued by *Vulſo Manlius* [d] ſixty Years before. The *Cilicians* were firſt conquered in the Year 675. And four Years after, *Bithynia* was added to the *Roman* Dominions, being left as a Legacy by the Will of King *Nicomedes*. But the Remainder of the *Aſiatic* Nations, bordering on the *Pontus*, or *Black Sea*, were reduced by *Pompey* [e]; who likewiſe ſubdued *Syria* [f] and *Palæſtine* [g]; while the Iſland of *Crete* received the Yoke from *Metellus* [h]; and the immenſe Riches of *Cyprus* tempted the *Roman* Senate to ſeize that Iſland, tho' then in Alliance with *Rome*. This was executed by *Publius Clodius* the Tribune: Which cruel Procedure cauſed *Ptolemy*, the then King of the *Cyprians*, to poiſon himſelf; and ſoon after *Cato* was ſent to the Iſland, and returned to *Rome* with a numerous Fleet of Galleys laden with all the Wealth of the *Cyprians* [i], who from thence were numbered among the *Roman* Provincials. All theſe Exploits were finiſhed about ſix hundred and ninety Years after the building of the City. Ancient *Gaul*,

Aſia Minor. *Galatia.* *Cilicia.* *Bithynia.* *Syria.* *Palæſtine.* *Crete.* *Cyprus.* *Gaul.*

[c] Vid. *Val. Max.* lib. iii. c. 4. *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 20. Epit. ad *Liv.* lib. 29. *Strab.* lib. iv. et *Juſt.* lib. xxxvi. c. 4. [d] *Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 39. *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 11. [e] Vid. *Plutarch.* in vita *Pomp.* et *Dio.* [f] *Plut.* in *Pomp.* [g] *Flor.* lib. iii. c. 5. [h] Idem c. 7. *Velleius*, lib. ii. c. 38. [i] *Flor.* lib. iii. c. 9.

comprehending modern *France*, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and all the Countries between the *Rhine* and the *Bay of Biſcay*, was reduced by *Julius Cæſar*. The South-Eaſtern Part of *Gaul* had indeed been made a *Roman* Province about ſeventy-three Years before by *Domitius Ænobarbus* and *Fabius Maximus* [k]; but the Reduction of the Whole was finiſhed by *Cæſar* about the Year of the City 704 [l]. And tho' the firſt Conqueſt of *Numidia* was the Work of *Metellus* [m], completed in the Year 646, yet the forming it into a Province was likewiſe reſerved by Fortune to ſwell the Glories of the ſame *Cæſar* [n]. *Spain*, *Egypt*, *Illyrium* (a Country North of the *Adriatic* Sea, or Gulph of *Venice*, the principal Part of which now goes by the Name of *Sclavonia*) and Part of *Pannonia* (now *Hungary*) were the Acqueſts of *Auguſtus Cæſar* [o]. But the Remainder of *Pannonia*, and all *Cappadocia*, were ſubjugated and became Provinces under *Tiberius* [p] his Succeſſor. *Claudius* made the chief Conqueſt of Our Iſland, great Part of which, together with the Iſles of *Wight* [q] and *Orkney* [r], was in his Reign added to the *Roman* Dominions. The *Cottian Alps*, between *Dauphiné* and *Piedmont*, was the Acquiſition of *Nero*: Nor was the Kingdom of *Pontus* reduced into the Form of a Province before his Time [s]. *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*

Numidia.
Spain.
Egypt.
Illyrium.
Pannonia.
Cappadocia.
Britain.
Cottian Alps.
Pontus.
Lycia.
Rhodes.
Byzantium.

[k] *Flor.* lib. iii c. 2 [l] *Paterc.* l. ii. c. 49. [m] *Salluſt.* in Bell. *Jugur.* [n] *Paterc.* lib. ii c. 39. [o] Idem ibid. *Sueton.* in *Auguſto*. *Plutar*. *Dio*. *Eutrop.* et al. [p] *Velleius*, lib. ii. c. 39. *Tacit.* Annal. lib. ii. *Sueton.* in *Tiber*. *Eutrop.* lib. vii. [q] *Sueton.* in *Veſpaſ.* c. 4. [r] Vide ſis *Juv.* Sat. ii. ℣ 161. [s] *Tacit*. *Sueton.* et *Aur. Victor.* in vita *Neron*. *Euſeb.* in Chron. Olymp. *Caſſidior.* in Conſ. R

(now

(now *Conſtantinople*) and great Part of *Thrace*, became Provinces under *Veſpaſian the Elder* [t]. *Thrace.* All theſe once flouriſhing Countries, the greateſt Part of the then known World, reaching from the River *Euphrates* quite to the Weſtern Ocean, and extending from the *Danube* and *Rhine*, together with great Part of *Britain*, to *Egypt*, and *Africa* as far as the 30th Degree of Southern Latitude, were now under Subjection, and paid Tribute to the victorious *Romans*; who, at the Time of the Expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud*, their laſt King, had not ſtretched their Conqueſts above fifteen Miles from the City [v]. Nor was their Empire always confined within theſe Bounds; but other Acquiſitions ſoon followed, which will be related in the Lives of the ſubſequent Princes.

Domitian being taken off, to the inexpreſſible Joy of almoſt all under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, from his Death the People began to reſpire from that Load of complicated Miſeries, under which they had ſo long laboured, and a Succeſſion of better Sovereigns enſued for a conſiderable Time. *Nerva* was the firſt that began the Reformation, an excellent Prince, whom *Arrius Antoninus* could not forbear pitying, becauſe it was his Lot to take the Reins of Government among Men of ſuch turbulent Spirits and vicious Morals. The Shortneſs of his Reign did not permit him to give ſo many Proofs of his Power, as of his Good-will; for he died in about ſixteen Months after his attaining to the Imperial Dignity; but not without making excellent Pro- *Nerva*, A. D. 97.

[t] *Suet.* in *Veſp.* *Eutrop.* lib. vii. *Oroſ.* lib. vii. cap. 6.
[v] *Eutrop.* lib. i.

viſion for the Happineſs of his Subjects, by adopting *Trajan*, and nominating him his Succeſſor.

Trajan, A. D. 99. The extraordinary Virtues of *Trajan* make ſuch a glorious Deſcription in Hiſtory, that the Authors ſeem to be at a Loſs for Words to expreſs their Admiration of his Valour, Conduct, Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Liberality. He enlarged the *Roman* Dominions beyond the Bounds reached by any of his Predeceſſors, by the Acquiſition of *Aſſyria*, *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Arabia* [w]. From him the *Parthians*, and other Eaſtern Nations, received their Kings, whoſe Crowns were held at *Trajan's* Pleaſure. Nor was his Behaviour in Civil Government leſs admirable than his Succeſs in War. The Senate of *Rome*, who from giving Laws to foreign Nations, and diſpoſing of Crowns and Provinces, had been reduced by the former Emperors to the meaneſt Servility and moſt ſhameful Corruption, under *Trajan* recovered ſome little Glimmerings of their ancient Luſtre. The *Romans* were ſo ſenſible of their Happineſs under this excellent Prince, that they even adored him while living; and after his Death, broke through the ancient Cuſtom of their Forefathers, and rather than not expreſs their Gratitude, by ſome diſtinguiſhing Mark of Reſpect to *Trajan's* Memory, they ſuffered his Reliques to be buried in the City, an Honour never given to any Prince before [x]; which was the more extraordinary, as *Trajan* was deſcended from

Reduction of *Aſſyria*, *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Arabia*.

[w] *Dio* in *Trajan*. *Euſeb.* in Chron. *Eutrop.* lib. viii.

[x] Idem ibid. et vide *Alex.* ab *Alex.* lib. vi. c. 14. And ſee our Note [b] at the Beginning of Book IV.

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no illuſtrious Line, his Father being the firſt of the Family that arrrived to any conſiderable Dignity in the State: But his perſonal Merit far outweighed all the remote Privileges of Blood, which Perſons of no real Worth ſo arrogantly claim; and it became a Cuſtom among the *Romans*, to ſalute their ſucceding Emperors, among other Acclamations, with theſe good Wiſhes, *Be happier than* Auguſtus; *better than* Trajan.

After him *Adrian* obtained the Imperial Purple, having been adopted, as ſome Authors relate, by *Trajan*; others affirm, that *Trajan* could never be prevailed upon to adopt him, though his Kinſman; but that *Plotina*, *Trajan's* Wife, after her Huſband's Death, pretended, he had adopted him in his Will; and by that Device *Adrian* was declared Emperor [y]. He behaved with great Moderation and Generoſity in the Civil Government; and perhaps had made a brighter Figure in Hiſtory, had he ſucceded any but *Trajan*, whoſe ſuperior Merit eclipſed the moderate Virtues of his Succeſſor. About the latter End of *Trajan's* Reign, the *Jews* had made ſeveral Inſurrections and Seditions; but were repreſſed by *Luſius*, *Trajan's* General, who was afterwards Governor of *Judæa*; but upon *Trajan's* Death, they raiſed new Diſturbances in different Parts of the World; till *Adrian* quelled their Tumults, and, by puniſhing the Ringleaders, reduced them to Subjection. In his Time the *Alexandrians* found their God *Apis* [z], which was an Ox of a very remarkable Colour, with a Turbercle under his *Adrian*, A.D. 118.

[y] *Spartian.* in vita *Adrian.* [z] Idem ibid.

Tongue [a]. This Ox they drowned in the *Nile*, and for ſeveral Days mourned his Loſs: But after a long ſpace of Time, when they found another exactly anſwering in Colour, Size, and eſpecially the carnous Excreſcençe under his Tongue, they then ſuppoſed their God was riſen again, and come to give them another Viſit; upon which Occaſion all *Egypt* kept Holy-days [b], and celebrated Feaſts, with every kind of enthuſiaſtic Mirth, for the Return of their Deity. No Nation in the World was ſo much addicted to Religion as the ancient *Egyptians*; and at theſe Seaſons there was no Regard to Order or Government; the whole Nation was in an Uproar; and if any dared to interrupt their Worſhip, the Populace were always ready to vindicate their Religion by Arms: Which was the Caſe in *Adrian's* Reign, and gave that Emperor no ſmall Fear. But the Diſpute being chiefly about the Town where *Apis* ſhould be entertained, when that was adjuſted, the *Egyptians* were appeaſed, and *Adrian* freed from the Apprehenſions of any ill Conſequences ariſing from the Commotions of ſo populous a Province: For *Adrian's* Abilities did not ſeem to conſiſt much in War; which made him ſoon alarmed at the News of any Diſturbances. He was ſo far from making any new Acqueſts, that he could not, or would not, retain what his Predeceſſors left him; but upon the *Perſians* demanding the Province of *Meſopotamia* [c], he gave it up without the leaſt Reſiſtance. Several other large Provinces followed

Meſopotamia given up.

[a] *Plin.* Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. c. 40. [b] Vid. *Herodot.* lib. iii. [c] *Dio*, et *Spart.* in vita *Adrian.*

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the Ceſſion of *Meſopotamia*; as if *Adrian* took as much Pleaſure to contract, as *Trajan* to extend, the Dominions of the Empire. However, he kept up ſtrict and regular Diſcipline in the Army; promoted all his Officers on the Score of Merit only [d], and liberally rewarded every great Action. He was ſuch a Lover of Travelling, that he made the Tour of all the Countries in the Empire [e], correcting what was amiſs, and encouraging and ſharing all the public Diverſions. He built ſeveral Temples in differents Parts of the World, and called them by his own Name; with a Deſign (as a famous Author [f] pretends) to give them for Churches to the *Chriſtians*. But, as there is but little Ground to think *Adrian* ſo great a Favourer of Chriſtianity, the Story ſeems rather calculated to pleaſe ſuch *Chriſtians*, as fondly imagined it a mighty Honour to their Religion, to have it countenanced by the Great Men of the World, and ſupported by the ſecular Power. The Truth is, that *Trajan*, an active Prince, and a zealous Defender of the *Pagan* Faith and the Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd, had perſecuted the *Chriſtians* and other Diſſenters: But *Adrian*, being of an eaſier Temper, tolerated all religious Sects, and preferred Peace, both at Home and Abroad, to every other Conſideration. In his private Character, he was courteous and humane, a good Companion and a hearty Friend. *Ælius Verus* was appointed for his Succeſſor, but he did not long ſurvive his Adoption. After him *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus*, afterwards ſirnamed *Pius*,

[d] *Spart.* in vita *Adrian.* [e] *Eutrop.* lib. viii.
[f] *Lampridius* in vit. *Alexand. Sever.*

upon Condition that *Antoninus* ſhould adopt *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher, and *Lucius Verus* the Son of *Ælius Verus* deceaſed [g]. Theſe two were afterwards Emperors both together.

Antoninus Pius, A. D. 130.

Antoninus Pius was a Prince, whoſe Character came little ſhort of that of *Trajan*. He reduced the *Britons*, *Moors*, *Germans*, *Jews*, and other revolting Provinces, to Subjection [h]. He diminiſhed the Taxes, and kept the Collectors of them within due Bounds: To ſupply which Deficiency in the Revenue, he retrenched the Salaries of ſuch Officers, as were of no other Uſe in their Places but to receive their Pay, it being his uſual Saying, *That nothing was more ſhameful, nothing more cruel, than for thoſe Vermin to gnaw the State, who contributed nothing to it's Increaſe by their Labours* [i]. He was much beloved at *Rome*, and of great Authority with foreign Nations; though he was ſo great a Lover of Peace, that he would frequently repeat that Sentence of *Scipio*; *I had rather ſave one Citizen, than kill a thouſand Enemies*. He left the public Treaſuries rich, but exhauſted his own Wealth by his wonderful Liberality [k]. When he lay on his Death-bed, he ſent for *Marcus Antoninus* his adopted Son and Succeſſor, in whoſe Education he had beſtowed uncommon Expence and Pains, and recommended to his Care the Government, and his Daughter *Fauſtina*. Then he ordered the golden Image of *Fortune*, which was always kept in the Emperor's Bed-chamber, to be carried into *Mar-*

[g] *Spart.* in vit. *Ælii Ver.* *Capitol.* *Eutrop.* et *Aur. Victor.*
[h] Vid. ſis *Pauſan.* *Jul. Capitol.* *Eutrop.* l. viii.
[i] *Jul. Capitol.* in *Ant. Pi.*
[k] Idem ibid. *Eutrop.* l. viii.

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cus's Apartment; after which, his Fever increaſing, he grew delirious, and in a few Days expired.

Marcus Antoninus (who had married the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*) and *Lucius Verus*, Son-in-law to *Marcus* by marrying his Daughter, held the Imperial Dignity as Collegues, and were the firſt two that reigned over *Rome* at one Time [l]. *Marcus* was very much addicted to the Study of Philoſophy, but not to that degree, as to forget he was an Emperor. A Rebellion breaking out among the *Parthians*, *Lucius* undertook an Expedition againſt them, while *Marcus* continued at *Rome*, intent on Affairs of Government, and making ſuch Laws, as were wholeſom to the Commonwealth. When the *Parthians* were ſubdued, the Title of *Parthicus* was given to both the Emperors: *Marcus*, indeed, modeſtly refuſed it at firſt, as he had no Share in the Victory, but afterwards was prevailed on to accept it. *Lucius* has but an indifferent Character given him by Hiſtorians; who report, that he devoted himſelf greatly to Sloth and Debauchery, eſpecially while he reſided in *Syria*; committing the Care of the War to his Lieutenant-Generals [m]: But *Marcus* winked at his Son-in-law's Failings, and endeavoured to make Compenſation for them by his own extraordinary Diligence and Induſtry. After the Conqueſt of *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Media* [n], *Lucius* returned to *Rome*, with great Reluctancy, as he did not like to be ſo near his

Marcus, and *Lucius*, A. D. 161.

Armenia, *Parthia*, and *Media*, conquered.

[l] *Spart.* in vit. *Æl. Ver. Capitol.* in *Mar. Antonin.* et *Eutrop.* lib. viii. [m] *Capitol. in L. Ver. Eutrop.* lib. viii. [n] *Jul. Capitol.* in *L. Ver.* et in *Mar. Anton.*

Brother,

Brother, whoſe grave philoſophical Morals were not very agreeable to a Man of his looſe Conduct. When he had reigned eleven Years with his Brother, he was taken ſuddenly ill, when they were both together in the Chariot, of which Illneſs he ſoon died; which gave Riſe to a Suſpicion, that *Marcus* had poiſoned him; becauſe *Lucius* deſigned to make the like Attempt againſt *Marcus* [o].

Marcus alone, A.D.171.

Marcus being left ſole Emperor, applied himſelf to the Adminiſtration of Affairs with redoubled Diligence. He quelled the rebellious Provinces, conquered the *Perſians*, recovered *Meſopotamia*, beat the *Germans*, after a great, a painful, and a calamitous War [p]; and exerted all the Qualities of a brave Soldier, and a temperate and wiſe Governor. His Principles of Stoic Philoſophy may be ſeen in his Works ſtill extant. This is that *Marcus* of whom we find ſuch honourable Mention in the enſuing *Hiſtory*; and whoſe pathetic Speech on his Death-bed, concerning his Son *Commodus*, is given by *Herodian*: To whom I ſhall now admit the Reader, without detaining him with any longer Preamble; and reſerve whatever elſe may be neceſſary to give him ſufficient Light into the *Roman* Affairs, for my Notes on *Herodian*; where each Circumſtance worthy Notice ſhall be explained, as it occaſionally offers.

[o] Vid. *Dio.* et *Philoſtrat.* in vit. *Herod.* [p] Vid. *Dio.* et *Capit.* in vit. *Marci.* *Eutrop.* lib. viii. et *Ammian. Marcell.* lib. xxxi.

HERODIAN's

Hiſtory of his own Times,

OR OF

The Empire after MARCUS.

THE PROEM.

THE greateſt Part of the Compilers of Hiſtory, who have undertaken to renew the Memory of certain Tranſactions of Antiquity, covetous of everlaſting Fame, and fearing that Silence might bury their Names in Obſcurity by mingling them among the Vulgar, have had but very little Regard to Truth in their Narratives, provided they could but obtain the Character of elegant and entertaining Writers; while they promiſe themſelves the ample Fruits of their Labours, in captivating their Readers with the Sweetneſs of the Narration, be it ever ſo fabulous; and are confident, no one will trouble himſelf to detect their Falſhood by a ſtrict Examination into what they relate. Others, carried away by their own private

vate Piques, or to ſhew their Hatred of Tyrants, or expreſs their Flattery or Reſpect to Princes, States, and even private Perſons, have, by the partial Force of Rhetoric, beſtowed Encomiums exceeding all Credibility on Actions in themſelves trivial and contemptible. On the contrary, I have, with great Care and Exactneſs, compoſed an authentic Hiſtory of Tranſactions, not received by Tradition from others, not unknown, nor unatteſted; but ſuch as falling within the Compaſs of modern Times, are yet recent in the Reader's Memory: Nor will it, I preſume, be a diſagreeable Amuſement to Poſterity, to be entertained with a Series of Facts, which are indeed the Productions but of a few Years, and yet ſo numerous and important, that whoever ſhall compare the whole Courſe of Time down from *Auguſtus*, when the *Roman* State degenerated into a Monarchy, to the Reign of *Marcus*, he will not find in all that Space, comprehending about 200 Years[a], ſuch frequent Revolutions of Government; ſuch various Events of War, both inteſtine and foreign; ſuch Commotions of Nations; ſuch Deſtructions of Cities, as well within our own Territory, as among the *Barbarians*; ſuch Earthquakes, and Peſtilences; and Lives of Tyrants and Princes, abounding with a Variety of ſuch incredible Circumſtances, as have never, or at leaſt very rarely, been mentioned in the Annals of preceding Ages. Some of theſe enjoyed a long

[a] The Time from the 33d Year of *Auguſtus Cæſar's* Life (which is properly the firſt Year of his Reign) to the Death of *Lucius Verus* (when *Marcus* remained ſole Emperor) will, on a careful Computation, be found to be exactly 200 Years.

Reign,

Reign; others were but occaſional Sovereigns; nay, ſo fleeting has the Honour been to ſome, that they were only flattered with a momentary Title, and loſt the Dignity the very Day they obtained it. For the *Roman* Empire having, in the Courſe of ſixty Years [b], been rent and divided among a greater Number of Potentates, than the Shortneſs of the Time ſeemed to require, it is no Wonder that ſo little a Space has been crowded with a Multitude of various and ſurprizing Incidents. Thus the Emperors of a more advanced Age, by the Advantage of a long Experience in Buſineſs, governed themſelves and their Subjects with greater Circumſpection: On the other hand, they who came very young to the Government, from a negligent unthinking Courſe of living, introduced no ſmall Number of Innovations. Hence it was, that from different Ages and Principles aroſe as great a Diverſity in their Inclinations and Purſuits. Of all theſe I deſign to treat, following the Order of the Times, and the Succeſſion of the Powers.

[b] From the laſt Year of *Marcus's* Life (whence *Herodian* begins his Hiſtory) to the firſt of *Gordian's* Reign (where he ends it) are upwards of 59 Years.

HERODIAN.

BOOK I.

THE Emperor *Marcus* had ſeveral Daughters, but only two Sons. One of theſe, whoſe Name was *Veriſſimus*, died in his Childhood; his ſurviving Brother, named *Commodus*, was brought up with uncommon Care: For his Father procured from all Parts, Men moſt famous for Learning, whom he invited by no mean Encouragements from their own Countries, in order to complete his Son's Education. He likewiſe married his Daughters, as they came to Maturity, to the moſt virtuous Members of the Senate: *For not ſuch as were moſt illuſtrious by a long ſucceſſive Train* of Anceſtors, nor thoſe who boaſted of their immenſe Poſſeſſions; but they who excelled in a decent Deportment, and a ſober Life, were by *Marcus* judged worthieſt to be Sons-in-law to an Emperor. Theſe Qualities he eſteemed the true, unalienable Riches of the Mind. And though Virtues of every kind ſhared in his Regard, he was peculiarly fond of ancient Erudition; in which he arrived at ſo great a Perfection, that he was inferior to none, either of the *Greeks* or *Romans*; as many of his excellent Sayings and Writings, ſtill extant, do ſufficiently teſtify.

To his Subjects he was a gentle and moderate Prince; ſo eaſy of Acceſs, that he ſtrictly forbad his Guards to hinder any from approaching his Preſence. In a word, he was the only King[a] that ſhewed forth the Force of Philoſophy, not by the Knowledge of Words and Sentences, but by a Dignity of Behaviour and a ſober Life.

The Age, in which this Prince flouriſhed, produced a great Number of wiſe and learned Men: For Subjects are naturally zealous of imitating the Manners of their Sovereign. But as all the Actions of *Marcus*, remarkable for Bravery, Wiſdom, and military Polity, both among the barbarous Northern Nations and the Inhabitants of the Eaſt, have been faithfully recorded by many able Writers; I ſhall confine myſelf to the Narration of thoſe Affairs, which have been tranſacted ſince his Death in my own Times; moſt of which I have ſeen and heard,

[a] *Herodian* throughout the whole Hiſtory but ſeldom uſes the Word Αὐτοκράτωρ, which anſwers to the *Latin*, *Imperator*, *Emperor*; but generally calls the Sovereigns of *Rome* Βασιλεῖς, *Kings*. And, indeed, the Difference conſiſted only in Fancy; for though the *Romans*, under their Republican State, hated the very Title of *Kings*, yet their Emperors were full as arbitrary and deſpotic, as the moſt abſolute Monarchs of other Nations. Nevertheleſs they fondly kept up the Title of *Imperatores*, as a Term they were more uſed to, it being that with which their Anceſtors had generally honoured the Chief Commanders of their Armies, and ſometimes the Supreme Magiſtrates of their State: For we find the Term applied by their beſt Writers to Civil Governors. Thus *Salluſt* calls the two firſt Conſuls of *Rome*, *Binos Imperatores*, *Two Emperors*; meaning no more, than two Perſons indued with ſupreme Power. This I thought proper to premiſe, that the *Engliſh* Reader might not be ſurprized at ſometimes meeting the Word *King* in the Courſe of the Hiſtory.

and

and in ſome have myſelf had no ſmall Share, as I was employed in ſeveral Offices of Honour both in the Court and Government.

A.D.180. When *Marcus* was advanced in Years, and worn out not only with Age, but the Fatigues of War, and Cares of State, he was ſeized in *Pannonia* with a violent Diſeaſe; and as he had little Hope of Recovery, he beheld with Anxiety his Son juſt entring on the Stage of Youth; and was afraid, the Impetuoſity of Paſſions, ſo common to that Time of Life, added to the arbitrary and unreſtrained Power he was going to poſſeſs, when in his Orphan-State, might carry him away from the Purſuit of laudable Studies, and give him up to Diſſoluteneſs and Debauchery. For the Minds of Youth are but too eaſily diverted from the Paths of good Inſtruction, and ſink into the fatal Gulph of Pleaſures. Many Inſtances occurred to the Emperor (as he was a Man well read in Ancient Hiſtory) of Princes who took the Reins of Government when young; and the Remembrance of thoſe encreaſed his Apprehenſions. He thought on *Dionyſius* [b], Tyrant of *Sicily*, a Man

[b] There were two of this Name, Father and Son, both alike in the Viciouſneſs of their Morals, but very different in Valour and Succeſs. The Father flouriſhed about the Time when *Rome* was taken and burnt by the *Gauls*. He reigned about thirty-eight Years, and died a natural Death, for any thing that is certain to the contrary. His Son (the *Dionyſius* here meant, held the Tyranny but twelve Years; for *Dion*, whom he had baniſh'd to *Corinth*, came againſt him into *Sicily*, while he was abſent, and with only two Tranſports, in three Days time, entred *Syracuſe*, the Metropolis of the Iſland, and ſoon reduced all that Part of *Sicily* that was under the Dominion of the Tyrant. *Dionyſius* afterwards fled to *Corinth*, where (as Authors affirm) he commenced School-maſter.

abandoned

abandoned to Intemperance, and continually hunting after new Scenes of expenſive Pleaſures. He reflected too on the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, who, by their Haughtineſs and Violence to their Subjects, diſgraced that Power with which he had inveſted them. *Ptolemy* went ſo far, as to aſcend his Siſter's Bed [c], in direct Violation of the Laws of the *Macedons* and *Greeks*. *Antigonus*, to imitate the God *Bacchus*, inſtead of the *Macedonian* [d] *Cauſia* and Diadem, was crown'd

[c] This muſt be underſtood of Siſters by both Father and Mother; othewiſe our Author is miſtaken in his Aſſertion: For the Marriage of a Woman to her Brother on the Father's Side, or, as the *Latins* call it, her *Brother German*, was not only common among the Eaſtern Nations (of which *Abraham* and *Sarah* is an Inſtance) but was alſo allowable by the Laws of *Greece*, as might be proved by numberleſs Paſſages in Hiſtory; to which *Herodian*, as he was himſelf a *Greek*, could hardly be a Stranger. It is therefore moſt probable, that the *Ptolemy* here meant was *Ptolemæus Ceraunus*, eldeſt Son of *Ptolemæus Lagus*, ſurnamed *The Saviour*, who was one of *Alexander's* Generals, and, after his Death, the firſt King of *Egypt*. The Story, as may be gathered from *Theocritus*, *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Juſtin*, and others, runs thus: *Ptolemy the Saviour* had, by his Wife *Eurydice*, *Ptolemæus Ceraunus*, and a Daughter named *Arſinoë*; and by his other Wife *Berenice*, *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*; who, though the younger Son, had the Kingdom given him by his Father before the old Man's Death, in preference to the hereditary Claim of *Ceraunus* the elder Brother. *Arſinoë*, *Ceraunus's* Siſter, was firſt married to *Lyſimachus*, another of *Alexander's* Generals, King of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, by whom ſhe had ſeveral Children. After the Death of *Lyſimachus*, *Ceraunus* (the *Ptolemy* here mentioned) married his Widow; which Match, *Herodian* ſays, was made *in direct Violation of the Laws of the* Macedons *and* Greeks; becauſe *Ceraunus* was own Brother to *Arſinoë* both by Father and Mother.

[d] The *Cauſia* was a kind of Bonnet, or rather Hat, with broad Brims, worn by the *Macedons* to ſave their Faces from being *Sun-burnt*, as the Etymon of the Word ſeems to imply.

with Ivy, and for a Sceptre carried a *Thyrſus* [e]. But he was moſt alarmed at the more modern Examples, whoſe Memory was ſtill freſh in his Mind; the Wickedneſs of *Nero*, who murdered his own Mother, and made himſelf a ridiculous Spectacle to the People; and the Audacity of *Domitian*, who proceeded even to the laſt Extremes of Cruelty. The Ideas of ſuch Tyrannies as theſe diſtracted his Mind, and kept him fluctuating between Hopes and Fears. Beſides, the neighbouring *Germans* gave him no ſmall Uneaſineſs; whom he had not yet entirely ſubdued, but only had perſuaded ſome of them into his Alliance; others he kept in Awe by the Terror of his Arms; and many had fled, and lay for the preſent quiet in their Retreat, dreading the Preſence of ſo great a Monarch. Of theſe he had ſtrong Suſpicions, that, holding *his* Son's Youth in Contempt, they would, *after his* Deceaſe, reſume their former Hoſtility: For the Barbarians are naturally fond of raiſing Diſturbances upon the moſt trifling Occaſions. Thus toſſed in a tempeſtuous Sea of Cares, he called together his Friends, and as many of his Relations as were with him; and his Son being brought before them, when they were all aſſembled, he raiſed himſelf gently on his Bed, and began in this Manner.

Speech of *Marcus.* "I am not at all ſurprized to find you thus "ſenſibly touched at the unhappy Condition in "which you ſee me involved; for there is a "certain Sympathy in human Nature, mov-

[e] The *Thyrſus* was a Spear wrapt round with Vine and Ivy Leaves; which the Prieſteſſes of *Bacchus* carried in Proceſſion before his Image, in their mad *Orgies* at his Feſtivals called by the *Romans*, *Bacchinalia*.

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" ing Men to compaſſionate the Diſtreſſes
" of their Brethren, eſpecially when they are
" Spectators of their Miſery. But I have ſtill
" a ſtronger Claim to your Affection; for from
" a Conſciouſneſs of my own tender Regard
" for your Welfare I have juſt Reaſon to ex-
" pect a ſuitable Return of Friendſhip. The
" Time is now come, both for me to experi-
" rience the Honour and Reſpect I have ſo long
" beſtowed on you, not thrown away on the
" Unworthy; and for you to ſhew, by a grate-
" ful Return, that you are not unmindful of
" the Favours conferred. Behold my Son,
" whom yourſelves have educated, juſt entring
" on the Voyage of Youth, and, like a Veſſel
" in a perilous Sea, needing the Direction of
" ſkilful Pilots; leſt, for want of Experience,
" he be driven from his right Courſe, and ſplit
" on the Rocks of Pride and Immorality.
" Let him find in you many Parents, to com-
" penſate the Loſs of one in me. Be ever near
" him, and always help him with your whol-
" ſom Counſels: For neither is an immenſe Maſs
" of Wealth ſufficient to ſupport the Exceſſes
" of a Tyrant; nor is there any Safety for a
" Prince in the Multitude of his Guards, un-
" leſs he alſo rule in the Hearts of his People.
" Thoſe Sovereigns are moſt likely to enjoy a
" long and happy Reign, who aim not at ex-
" citing Terror by their Cruelty, but at being
" great and amiable in Goodneſs. For not the
" Subjects who are Slaves through Neceſſity,
" but ſuch as are won by Kindneſs, and charm'd
" into Obedience, may be judged loyal with-
" out Suſpicion of Fraud or Flattery; and only
" ſuch perſevere in their Duty of doing or

" ſuffering for their King, whatever is required;
" nor do they fall away from their Allegiance,
" except they are driven to it by Violence and
" Indignities. It is extremely hard, for Men
" inveſted with unlimited Power, to moderate
" their Deſires, and ſet Bounds to their Paſſions.
" By repeating to him theſe and the like uſeful
" Admonitions, and often reminding him of
" what he now hears, you will not only pro-
" cure to yourſelves, and all his other Subjects,
" a wiſe and worthy Sovereign; but alſo pay
" the beſt and moſt grateful Tribute to my
" Memory, which by theſe Means, and theſe
" alone, it is in your Power to make immortal."

As he ſpake theſe laſt Words, a ſudden Faintneſs ſuppreſſed his Voice; and, through Weakneſs and want of Spirits, he ſunk down again in the Bed. The melancholy Occaſion
A.D. 180. very deeply affected all who were preſent; ſome of whom could not contain their Grief, but vented it in loud Lamentations. Nor did he ſurvive the Relapſe longer than one Night and Day; and then with great Tranquillity breathed
His Death. his laſt; leaving behind him a deep Sorrow for his Loſs among thoſe of his Time, and an everlaſting Memory of his Virtue to Poſterity.

When the Report of the Emperor's Death was ſpread, the whole Army, and the common People then preſent, were equally affected with the News. Nor were there any throughout all the *Roman* Juriſdiction, who received the melancholy Tidings without Tears; but all, as with one Voice, lamented him; ſome called him a good Emperor, ſome an experienced and valiant General, and others a wiſe and mode-

rate

rate Governor; nor was one of them miſtaken in his Appellation.

After a few Days ſpent in the Funeral of his Father, his Friends thought proper to preſent the young Prince to the Army, that he might make a Speech to the Soldiers, and diſtribute Money amongſt them, as was cuſtomary for thoſe who ſucceded to the Empire; and by liberal Largeſſes [f] attach them to his Intereſt.

[f] Tho' *Commodus* had been made *Auguſtus*, and taken into Partnerſhip of the Empire by his Father, after the Death of *Lucius Verus* his Uncle; it was nevertheleſs cuſtomary to diſtribute Money among the Soldiers and People, when the Sovereign came to the ſole Command of the Empire. The Largeſſes to the People were called *Congiaries*, and thoſe to the Soldiers *Donatives*. *Dio* mentions, as the uſual Sum of a Congiary, 140 *Drachmas*, or, as the *Romans* called them, *Deniers*: For tho' the *Attic Drachma* was anciently leſs than the *Roman Denarius*, yet *Budæus* is certainly right in making them the ſame, at leaſt after the twelve *Cæſars*; for what the *Latin* Writers call *Denarius*, the *Greek* Hiſtorians, of the Time of our Hiſtory, expreſs by Δραχμή. So that the *Drachm* and *Denier* are ſynonymous. The moſt uſual Donative was 3000 *Deniers*, *i. e.* almoſt 94 *l.* of our Money, to each Man; whereas the cuſtomary *Congiary* was but 4 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* to each. But the Sums of both were arbitrary, and varied according to the Fancy of the Emperor. Thus *Julius Capitolinus* aſſures us, that when *Marcus* and *Verus* came to the Imperial Dignity, each Soldier received a Donative of 20,000 *Seſterces*, in our Money above 156 *l.* And *Lampridius* ſays, *Commodus* once gave a Congiary to the People, of 725 *Deniers* to each, about 22 *l.* 13 *s.* 1 *d.* Nor will this be thought incredible, if we conſider the great Extent of the *Roman* Power under the Emperors, what immenſe Revenues they extorted from all their Provinces by their Stewards and Collectors, and the large Sums ariſing from the Proſcription of their Officers, Nobility, and Gentry; all whoſe Lives and Fortunes were at the deſpotic Diſpoſal of their Emperors; and upon their Conviction, nay, upon the lighteſt Suſpicions of Treaſon, their Effects were often immediately ſeized and confiſcated.

Orders were therefore given, for them all to aſſemble in the Field appointed; where *Commodus* appeared, and having performed the uſual Divine Service, he mounted the Tribunal, erected for that Purpoſe in the midſt of the Camp; and his Father's Friends, Men of great Wiſdom and Eloquence, ſtanding round him, he ſpake to the Army in Words like theſe:

Speech of *Commodus*.

"That your Sorrow for this our deplorable "Loſs is not in the leaſt inferior to my own, "but that we all endure an equal Share of the "common Calamity, is a Truth, of which I am "firmly perſuaded. For all the Time of my "dear Father's Life, I never behaved myſelf as "your Superior. He loved us all with equal "Affection, and was always more fond of call-"ing me his Fellow-Soldier than his Son. The "latter he looked upon only as an Appellation "of Nature; the former he eſteemed a Com-"munication of Virtue. When I was an In-"fant, he would often take me in his Arms, "and commit me into your Hands, as a Pledge "of that great Truſt he repoſed in you. Hence "I have the moſt rational Hopes of ſharing in "your Affections. From the Elders I may ex-"pect the Tenderneſs of Tutors to their Pu-"pils; the Younger I may addreſs by the Title "of my Schoolfellows-in-Arms: For my Fa-"ther loved you, all as one, and trained you "up in every kind of Virtue. After him, Pro-"vidence has given you me for your Sovereign, "not claiming the Dignity by the precarious "Right of Adoption (as former Emperors) and "receiving the Government as a new Acqui-"ſition. I was born your Prince, and even "ſuckled in Royalty; my Swadling-bands

"wrapt

" wrapt me in Honours above the Rank of private
" Perſons; the Imperial Purple received me from
" the Womb; and the Sun at the ſame Inſtant
" ſaw me both a Man and a Sovereign. Reflect
" on thoſe Circumſtances, and you cannot but
" love me, as an Emperor, not given, but born
" to you. My Father has ſoar'd [g] into Heaven,
" and is now an Attendant and Aſſeſſor to the
" Gods: To us is committed the Care of Men,
" and the Adminiſtration of earthly Affairs.
" Theſe to direct and confirm is your Work,
" by extinguiſhing the Remains of War with
" your wonted Valour, and extending the *Ro-*
" *man* Empire even to the Bounds of the O-
" cean. This will procure you laſting Glory,
" and pay the moſt grateful Acknowledgement
" to the Memory of our common Father; whom,
" tho' abſent, you are to believe a Hearer of
" what we ſay, and an Inſpector over all our
" Actions: And happy let us eſteem ourſelves,
" in having ſuch a Witneſs of our virtuous
" Deeds. Hitherto the Succeſs of your Arms,
" and Courage, may be referred to his great
" Wiſdom and Experience in War; but what-
" ever you ſhall atchieve under my Command,
" will be attributed to your own Fidelity
" and Valour: Hence you will ſupply the
" Authority wanting to my Youth, by your
" own Virtue; you will, at the Beginning of
" a new Government, keep the Barbarians in
" their Duty; ſuppreſs their Contempt of my
" weak Age for the preſent; and, from the

[g] This alludes to the Cuſtom of letting the Eagle fly from the Top of the Funeral-Pile, at the Deification of the deceaſed Emperors; as largely deſcribed by our Author at the Beginning of the Fourth Book.

" dreadful Remembrance of what they have al-
" ready felt, prevent their raiſing any future
" Diſturbances."

After *Commodus* had ended his Speech, and by the Donation of large Sums of Money made the Army his own, he returned to the Palace. And for ſome little Time Matters were well carried on by the Counſels of his Father's Friends; who were every Day with him, and continually adviſing the beſt Meaſures of Government: Nor did they give him any longer Intervals from public Affairs, than what they judged requiſite to preſerve the due Temperature of his Body by innocent Recreations. But it was not long ere ſome ſervile Courtiers inſinuated themſelves into his Preſence, and endeavoured to poiſon the Morals of the young Prince. A Set of Table-Flatterers, who meaſured Happineſs by Luſt and Appetite, were perpetually hinting to him the Delicacies of *Rome*; enumerating the charming Sights, the captivating Sounds, with all that rich Profuſion of various Plenty; and at the ſame Time complaining, that he murdered all the Time he ſpent on the Banks of the *Danube*, in a Soil unfruitful, parched with intolerable Froſts, and eternally buried under Mountains of Snow. " When, ſay they,
" will our Royal Maſter leave off drinking Wa-
" ters dug out of frozen Rivers; while others
" enjoy the Pleaſures of warm Fountains and
" cool Streams, and the peculiar Bleſſings of
" that temperate Air, of which no Part of the
" World but *Italy* can boaſt?" With ſuch alluring Suggeſtions, they eaſily excited in the Youth a ſtrong Deſire to taſt the Pleaſures they ſo extolled. He ſent for his Friends, and told them,

them, he had a great Inclination to ſee his native Country: But being aſhamed to confeſs the true Reaſon of this ſudden Alteration, he pretended he was apprehenſive that ſome one of the wealthieſt *Patricians* [h] might in his Abſence take Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Palace; and thence, as from a ſtrong Citadel, having collected ſufficient Forces, might declare his Deſign, and ſeize upon the Sovereignty. That it was no hard Matter, in ſo populous a City, to get a proper Number of choſen young Men to vindicate his Pretenſions.

While the Youth couched his Sentiments under theſe ſpecious Pretexts, the reſt were inwardly ſhock'd at what they heard, and hung down their Heads in Sorrow and Silence: But *Pompeianus* (who was the oldeſt of them all, and related to the Emperor by marrying his eldeſt Siſter) made the following Reply.

Speech of *Pompeianus*.

"It is very natural for us to believe, my Son "and my Maſter, that you long after your na- "tive Country; ſince we ourſelves are touch'd "with the like Deſire of ſeeing our Families. "But as our Duty to our Sovereign, and the "important Service our Country demands of

[h] The *Patricians*, ſtrictly taken, ſignified only thoſe, who were the Deſcendants of the firſt *Patres*, or Senators, created by *Romulus*. *Patres Conſcripti*, *Conſcript Fathers*, was the common Title of Reſpect, with which each Member, when he made a Speech, addreſſed the whole Houſe. The Term at firſt was given to ſuch as from the lower Orders of the Citizens were enrolled, or *conſcribed*, among the Senators to fill up their Number; which in the firſt Age of the Commonwealth was 300, but afterwards their Number became vague and arbitrary. For *Cicero (poſt redit.)* mentions 510. *Julius Cæſar* ſwell'd them to above 1000; but *Auguſtus* reduced them to the former Number.

"us

" us in theſe Parts, juſtly claim the firſt Place " in our Wiſhes, to theſe we poſtpone all pri- " vate Conſiderations. You will hereafter be " bleſt, the greateſt Part of your Life, with a " ſecure Enjoyment of whatever is deſirable at " Home: And in the mean time, wherever the " Emperor is, there is *Rome*. But to leave a " War unfiniſhed, is a Step as dangerous as diſ- " honourable; by which we ſhall give new Spi- " rits to the Barbarians; who will immediately " conclude, we are not invited Home by the " Love of our Country, but driven hence by " the Fear of our Enemies. On the contrary, " how glorious will be your Return, when, hav- " ing conquered all the Nations of the North, " and bounded your Empire with the Ocean, " you ſhall enter your City in Triumph, while " fetter'd Captives ſhall follow your Chariot, " and barbarous Kings and Deputies grace the " Proceſſion! 'Twas thus the *Romans* of former " Ages made themſelves Great and Illuſtrious. " You have no Reaſon to fear, that while you are " abſent, any one at Home will create Diſturb- " ances: For you have with you the nobleſt of " the Senators; the whole Military Power is " preſent, and ever ready to defend the Rights " of their Emperor; the Treaſuries of the royal " Revenues are here alſo; and the dear Memory " of your departed Father cannot fail of con- " firming to you the inviolate Faith and good " Affection of all, who under you fill any Poſt " of Honour or Authority."

Pompeianus, by this Speech, endeavoured to encourage the Youth to the Purſuit of better Meaſures; and it was forcible enough to put a preſent Stop to his Inclinations. For *Commo-*

dus,

dus, aw'd at the old Man's Words, and unable to make any reaſonable Reply, diſmiſſed the Council, with telling them, he would reflect on what had been ſaid, and take a longer Time to conſider of it. But his Miniſters and Sycophants eternally hanging upon him, he no more communicated his Deſigns to his Friends; but having diſpatched Letters, and diſtributed the Government on the Banks of the *Danube* to whom he thought proper, and commanded them to guard againſt the Inroads of the Barbarians, he gave the neceſſary Orders to decamp. His Officers faithfully diſcharged their Duty, and in a ſhort Time reduced by Arms the greateſt Part of the Barbarians to his Subjection; and by valuable Conſiderations eaſily brought over others to his Alliance. For the Barbarians, being by Nature exceſſively fond of Money, and Deſpiſers of Dangers, either maintain themſelves by Incurſions and Rapines, or comply with the firſt Overtures for a venal Peace, provided the Purchaſers bid up to the Price of it. Which *Commodus* knowing, and willing to buy Eaſe at any Rate, as he did not want Money, refuſed nothing they demanded.

Commodus returns to Rome.

When the Report of his intended Departure came abroad, there was a great Hurry and Confuſion throughout all the Camp. Every one was willing to go with him, to be freed from the Trouble of a tedious War, and enjoy the Delights and Diverſions of *Rome*. But when Meſſengers arrived at the City, proclaiming the Emperor's Return, the *Roman* People were overjoyed at the News, and conceived great Hopes of the Good they were to reap from their young Sovereign's Reſidence among them; for they at once

once concluded, the Son inherited the Father's Virtues. *Commodus* performed his Journey with a juvenile Haſte; he ran through the intermediate Cities, and every where met with the Reception of a King, all the People celebrating his Appearance with Mirth and Feſtivity, and beholding him with Eyes which ſeemed to expreſs their Loyalty and good Affections. When he came within a few Miles of *Rome*, the whole Senate, and all the Inhabitants of the City, without any regard to Order or Quality, each ſtriving to be foremoſt, ran out to meet him, carrying Laurels, and all kinds of Flowers the Seaſon afforded; every one going as far as he was able, pleaſed with the Thoughts of ſeeing and welcoming Home their young illuſtrious Emperor. For they ſincerely longed to ſee him, as he was a Prince born and bred amongſt them; and deſcended in the third Degree from a Family allied to the Throne and Senate. By his Father's Side, he ſprang from the moſt illuſtrious of the Senatorian Order. His Mother, *Fauſtina*, the late Empreſs, was the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, and Grand-daughter to *Adrian* by the Woman's Side, and referred her Lineage up to *Trajan* her Great-grandfather. Thus noble was *Commodus* by Extraction. And, beſides the ſprightly Bloom of his Youth, his Form was truly amiable. In his Body appear'd a juſt Symmetry of Parts; in his Face was viſible the Majeſty of Manhood, attempered with the Softneſs of Beauty; his Eyes were vivid and ſparkling; his Hair naturally curled, and of ſo bright a Yellow, that, whenever he walk'd in the Sun, it glittered like Fire, emitting Sparks of Light ſo quick, that ſome conjectured, as he went,

His Beauty.

went, his Head was ſprinkled with the Filings of Gold [i]; others, of a more ſuperſtitious Caſt, accounted for it by a ſupernatural Power; ſome heavenly Luſtre, they ſaid, came with him into the World, and ſettling on his Head, from thence diffuſed its Rays of Divinity. Add to all this, the bloomy Down on his Cheeks, reſembling the Softneſs of Beds of Flowers. Thus charmed at the Sight of ſo beautiful a Sovereign, the *Romans* received him with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, decking his Paſs with Garlands, and ſtrewing the Ground with Flowers. When he rode into the City, and had viſited firſt the Temple of *Jupiter*, and afterwards thoſe of the other Deities in Order, and returned the Senate and Soldiers left at Home his Thanks for their Loyalty and faithful Services, he retired to the Imperial Palace.

For a few Years he ſhewed great Reſpect for his Father's Friends, and did every thing as their Counſels directed; but when he came to take the Direction of Affairs into his own Hands, he made *Perennius*, an *Italian*, *Prefect* of his Camps [k]; a Perſon of a military Character,

[i] Yellow Hair was eſteemed ſo beautiful among the *Romans*, that their Beaux uſed to powder their Hair with Gold-duſt. This *Capitolinus* aſſerts of the Emperor *Verus*, *Trebellius* mentions the ſame Cuſtom in the Life of *Gallienus*; and *Lampridius* expreſsly affirms, that *Commodus* uſed the ſame Art.

[k] As the Mention of the *Roman* Officers very frequently occurs in Hiſtory, a ſhort Account of their ſeveral Ranks and Titles may not be thought improper. The Officers of the Army were *Decurions*, *Centurions*, *Tribunes*, *Præfects*, *Legates*, and *Prætors*.

The *Decurions* were Officers of Horſe, ſo called from their having the Command of a *Decury*, or ten Men, the third

and therefore judged proper to preſide over the Army. This Miniſter, practiſing on the Weakneſs of the young Monarch, gave him all poſſible Leiſure to corrupt his Manners with Ef-

third part of a Troop. The Number of Troops in a Legion was generally ten.

Centurions ſometimes commanded a *Century*, which commonly conſiſted of one hundred Foot. But the Term was not confined to the Infantry; for we read of Centuries of Horſe in *Cicero*, Philip. 4. *Livy*, lib i. and other Authors. Nor were the Centurions always Captains of *Hundreds*, as the Word implies: On the contrary, an *Ordo* or *Rank*, which was half a *Maniple*, and contained but ſixty Men, was often headed by Centurions. The principal Centurion of the Legion was called *Primipilus* (from the *Pilum*, a Weapon uſed by his Company) and *Primus Centurio*, *Firſt Centurion*, or *Ductor Ordinis primi*, *Leader of the firſt Rank*. He had the Charge of the Eagle, or *Chief Standard*: But that he was ſtyled *Prefect of the Legion*, as ſome Antiquarians aſſert, ſeems to be a Miſtake, as we ſhall preſently ſhew.

The *Tribunes of Soldiers* were at firſt but three, afterwards ſix, and then ten, in a Legion. They were anciently choſen, partly by the Conſuls, partly by the Suffrages of the People. Their Office empowered them to decide Controverſies by Courts Martial; to ſee the Camps well fortified, and the Watch diſpoſed in due Order; to give the Watch-word; to caſhire Cohorts, when neceſſary; to take care the Army was well victualled; and to keep the Soldiers obedient to Command. Their Commiſſion was but for a certain Time: Some Moderns conjecture, from a Paſſage in *Juvenal*, Sat vii. ℣ 89. (which however is uncertain) that it was but ſix Months. After which they never could be a *Ductor ordinum*, or *Centurion*, but were uſually promoted to a *Prefecture*; which is the next Office to be explained.

The *Roman* Legion conſiſted of ten Cohorts; but the Number of Men that compoſed a Cohort was very various. *Plutarch* (in *Romulo*) aſſerts, the Legion at firſt had but 3000 Foot and 300 Horſe. *Livy* mentions Legions from 4000 to 6000 Foot, and from 200 to 400 Horſe. *Feſtus* makes a Legion ſometimes conſiſt of 6200 Men. *Polybius*, lib. i. ſays, the Complement of a Legion in the firſt *Punic*

feminacy and Voluptuouſneſs. He kept from him the Cares and Toils of Government; and took upon himſelf the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs. He had an inſatiable Thirſt after

War was 5206 Infantry, and 200 Cavalry: But the ſame Author aſſures us, lib. iii. that the ordinary Number did not exceed 4000 Foot and 200 Horſe; which ſeems to be corroborated by *Julius Cæſar*, Comment. lib. v. who tells us, two of his Legions at that Time did not make above 7000 Men. Each of the ten Cohorts in a Legion was commanded by a *Prefect*, an Officer not much unlike a modern *Brigadier*. Beſides theſe, there was a *Prefect of the Legion* (as *Alexander ab Alexandro* rightly obſerves, lib. vi. c. 20.) who commanded in Chief when his Legion was detached from the main Army. This Officer was frequently called *Dux Legionis*; *Leader of the Legions*. Thus the ſame Gradation, that *Salluſt*, Bell. *Cat.* obſerves, when, ſpeaking of *Petreius*, he ſays, *He had been for thirty Years either a* Tribune, *a* PREFECT, *a* Legate, *or a* Pretor, is kept up by *Spartian* in his Life of *Niger*, who was (ſays the Author) *a very good Soldier, a ſingular* Tribune, *an excellent* LEADER, *a moſt ſevere* Legate, *a notable* Conſul: In which Deſcription the Term *Dux* is uſed for *Præfectus*. The ſame *Spartian* a little before cites a Letter of *Marcus* the Emperor, in which he writes; *I have made him* [Niger] *a* Tribune *twice, and will ſoon make him* Dux; by which he meant *Prefect of a Legion*. There was likewiſe a *Prefect of the Pretorians* or *Life-Guards*, an Officer of great Authority; who was always choſen from the Equeſtrian Order, till *Titus* filled that Poſt under his Father *Veſpaſian*, as we are told by *Suetonius*, in *Tito*, and *Pliny*, in the Preface to his *Natural Hiſtory*, dedicated to *Titus*. But the Prefects inveſted with the greateſt Power were the *Prefects of the Camps*. This Poſt was firſt inſtituted in the Time of the Kings, as we find in *Dionyſ. Halicarn.* lib. iv. where he mentions the *Prefects of the Camps* of *Tarquin*. The Office of theſe Prefects was anciently, to mark out a proper Place for the Camps; to regulate the Tents and Baggage; to ſee proper Care taken of the Sick; with many other important Charges, collected by *Vegetius*, lib. ii. c. 10. But under the Emperors their Power was extravagantly great, being generally lodged in the *Prefect of*

Riches; and though he was ever adding to the Bulk of his Poſſeſſions, he was perpetually graſping after more. He began to calumniate the Friends of the late Emperor; and thoſe

of the Pretorians: So that theſe two Prefectures are often confounded in Hiſtory.

The *Legates* were choſen to aſſiſt the Commander in Chief, whether *Pretor* or *Conſul*; as the *Maſter of the Horſe* was an Aſſiſtant to the *Dictator*. They were ſent at the Head of great Detachments on important Services, and commanded the whole Army in the General's Abſence. They cannot be better expreſſed in *Engliſh*, than by the Term of *Lieutenant-Generals*.

The *Pretors* were military Governors of Provinces, and conſequently had the chief Command of the Armies in the reſpective Countries where they preſided. Theſe, before the Times of the Emperors, were ſtyled ſometimes *Prætores*, ſometimes by a more general Title, *Imperatores*.

As the *Roman* Conſtitution was chiefly Military, the Officers of the Civil Government were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame Titles as thoſe in the Army; which makes it neceſſary to add a Word or two concerning them in the ſame Order.

Romulus divided his Citizens into three Tribes; each of which he ſubdivided into ten *Curiæ*, or *Wards*. Theſe were again ſubdivided into *Decuries*; and the Heads of theſe laſt were called *Decurions*. The Senators of the *Roman* Colonies had likewiſe this Title. Beſides which, under the Emperors we read of Officers at Court called *Decurions of the Palace*, and others *Decurions of the Bed-chamber*.

I find no Mention of any Civil Magiſtrate, under the Title of a *Centurion*; for the Alderman of every *Curia* or *Ward* was called a *Curio*, the *Centuries* being nothing but *Hundreds* ſelected out of each Tribe to give their Votes at the Election of principal Magiſtrates in the *Campus Martius*; which Elections were therefore termed *Comitia Centuriata*.

Of the *Tribunes of the Commons* we have ſpoken before in the Introduction. I ſhall only remark here, that they were aſſiſted in their Judicial Office by Under-Magiſtrates called *Ædiles of the Commons*; whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſuper-

who were richeſt and of the beſt Families, he endeavoured to render moſt ſuſpected; that making them formidable to the young Prince, he might perſuade him to cut them off, and

ſuperintend Public Buildings, rectify Weights and Meaſures, and ſuppreſs Diſorders of ſeveral Kinds. There were other *Military Tribunes with Conſular Power*, created to pacify the Commons when they ſtood up for their Share in the Conſular Dignity: But when the Commons obtained the Privilege of having one of the Conſuls choſen out of their Order, the Office of theſe Tribunes was ſoon diſcontinued.

The Office of *Prefect of the City*, called alſo *Cuſtos urbis*, *Guardian of the City*, was (according to *Tacitus*, Ann. vi. c. 11.) created by *Romulus*. The Intent of their Inſtitution was, that no Diſturbance might gain Head at Home for want of a proper Officer to rule the City during the Abſence of the Supreme Magiſtrates. *Livy* mentions ſomething of this kind, lib. iv. But *Auguſtus Cæſar* raiſed the Dignity to that degree, that *Suetonius* attributes the Invention of this Prefecture to him. *Tacitus* and *Euſebius* both affirm, that *Meſſala* was the firſt *Prefect of the City* under *Auguſtus*; but add, that he relinquiſhed the Office a few Days after he had accepted it. The Power of this Prefect, under the Emperors, was very great, and extended to one hundred Miles from the City. Beſides him there was another, called *Præfectus vigilum*, *Prefect of the Watch*, to guard againſt Thieves and Incendiaries. And as the general Term *Prefect* ſignifies a Governor of any kind, we find it applied to ſeveral other Offices, too numerous and needleſs to be inſerted here.

The Title of *Legates* was given not only to Ambaſſadors, but to Deputies or Vice-Governors under the Conſuls, Pretors, *&c.* Some of them had the Government of Provinces themſelves in the Time of the Emperors, as we ſhall ſhew in another Place.

It remains only to ſpeak of the *Pretors*. This Office, together with that of the *Ædiles curules*, *Ediles of State* (who were elected out of the Nobility, and had the Care of the Temples, and the Inſpection of public Games) was created in the Year of the City 390, when the Plebeians firſt obtained a Share in the Conſulate. The firſt Pretor was choſen out of the Nobility; but ſoon after the Commons

thereby give him an Opportunity and Power of ſeizing their Fortunes. The Youth was awed at firſt by the Memory of his Father, and the Reverence he paid his Friends; but at length Fortune, as it were an evil Genius, faſcinated his Reaſon, and puſh'd him on to Wickedneſs, to which his modeſt and courteous Diſpoſition had been hitherto averſe: For there happened, in a little time, the following Incident.

A Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate *Commodus*.

Lucilla, the eldeſt of all *Commodus*' Siſters, had been formerly married to *Lucius Verus*, the Emperor; whom *Marcus* had taken as his Partner in the Empire, and to ſtrengthen the Alliance, had given him his Daughter, as the moſt likely Cement of Concord and Amity. After the Death of *Lucius*, his Widow, who

put in for their Share of the Honour, and obtained it. His Office was to adminiſter Juſtice in the City during the Abſence of the Conſuls. About one hundred and ten Years after, another Pretor was added, who was to take Cognizance of all Cauſes relating to Foreigners. The Number in proceſs of Time was augmented to eight. *Julius Cæſar*, to pleaſure his Favourites (as *Dio* relates, *l. xlii.*) made them ten, afterwards twelve, at laſt ſixteen, which Number *Auguſtus* retained; and obliged his Succeſſor *Tiberius* to ſwear he would never exceed it. But *Claudius* increaſed them to eighteen. Theſe Pretors not only were impowered to appoint Guardians for Pupils, to delegate Judges for criminal Matters and the Determination of private Cauſes, but had alſo the ordering of public Sports and Races; as may be plainly gathered from many Paſſages in *Juvenal*. The Command of Armies, and the Government of the leſſer Provinces, was committed to the Pretors; who divided them by Lot, as the Conſuls did the Provinces of greater Importance. The Pretor's Tent in the Army, and his Judgment-Hall in the City, were called the *Prætorium*; which Appellation obtained ever after, and the Life-Guards of the General or Emperor were from thence called *Pretorians*.

ſtill

ſtill retained all the Enſigns of Royalty, in the ſame Manner as when her late Huſband was living, was given by her Father to *Pompeianus*; nor had *Commodus* ever made the leaſt Infringement on his Siſter's Honours: She ſtill ſat on an Imperial Throne in the Theatres, and kept up the uſual State of having Fire [1] carried be-

[1] This was eſteemed a very ſacred Honour, and permitted to none but the Imperial Family. It ſeems very probable, that the *Romans* borrowed this Rite from the *Perſians*, either immediately when they ſtretched their Conqueſts beyond the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, or mediately by the *Greeks*. *Xenophon* tells us of this Cuſtom among the *Perſians*. And *Quintus Curtius*, in his Deſcription of *Darius's* March againſt *Alexander*, gives a beautiful Account of this pompous Ceremony, where the Prieſts carried the *ſacred and eternal Fire* before the King, as a lively Symbol of the Duration and Brightneſs of his Kingdom. *Herodotus* aſſures us, Fire is one of the principal Deities adored by the *Perſians*. And ſo holy was it deemed, that the Prieſts who bore it, were commonly ſpared in a general Slaughter. Hence the ſame Author obſerves (lib. viii.) that the *Perſians*, when they formed a Stratagem of ſurprizing the *Greek* Ships at *Artemiſium* under the Command of *Themiſtocles*, reſolved to cut the Enemy all off to a Man, ſaying, Ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΝ ἐκφυγόντα ἀγγελεῖλαι. *Not even a* FIRE-BEARER *ſhould eſcape.*

It is extremely difficult to conjecture, when the Ceremony of carrying Fire was firſt introduced among the *Romans*. I mean the Fire here mentioned; for the *Prunæ batillus*, *Cenſer of Coals*, mentioned by *Horace*, Sat. V. lib. i. among the Honours of the Pretor, has no relation to the Ceremony we are ſpeaking of, though falſely ſuppoſed to be the ſame by ſome Commentators. I do not remember to have met with any Mention of it in any *Roman* Writer beſides our Author, either in *Greek* or *Latin*; except in the Life of *Marcus* the Emperor, written by himſelf; where, ſpeaking of the Pomp of a Court, among other Symbols of Empire he mentions *Lamps*; by which, if he means (as the learned *Lipſius* is of opinion, in his Notes on *Tacitus*) the Ceremony of *Fire-bearing*, 'tis a plain Indication, not only of its being a received Cuſtom,

fore her, whenever ſhe appeared in publick. But when *Commodus* had taken a Wife, *Criſpina* by Name, and ſhe neceſſarily began to claim Precedence, as became the Conſort of the reigning Sovereign; *Lucilla* was inwardly piqued at the Reſpect paid to the new Empreſs, and looked upon it as a Diminution of her own State. Tho' ſhe conceived Thoughts of ſeizing on the Imperial Dignity, ſhe feared to communicate her Deſigns to *Pompeianus* her Huſband, knowing him to be too well affected to *Commodus*, to bear the leaſt Hint of ſuch an Intention. She therefore ſounded the Inclinations of *Quadratus*, a Youth of good Birth and Fortune, with whom ſhe was ſuſpected of ſecretly carrying on a criminal Converſation; and continually lamenting in his hearing the Indignities ſhe ſuffered, ſhe at length impelled the young Man to enter into Meaſures fatal to himſelf and the whole Senatorian Order: For, with ſome of the principal Senators, he formed a Conſpiracy, and prevailed upon *Quintianus*, a young Man who was alſo of the Senate, and of a bold enterprizing Spirit, to conceal a Dagger in his Boſom, and wait a fit Opportunity to aſſaſſinate the Emperor; adding, that himſelf would take care to manage the reſt, and ſettle every thing by pecuniary Largeſſes. *Quintian* poſted himſelf in the Paſſage to the Amphitheatre, which, be-

but that the Fire meant was an Aſſemblage of Lamps carried before the Imperial Family in Proceſſions. His Words are: "Οτι δυνατόν ἐστι ἐν αὐλῇ βιῶντα μήτε δορυφορήσεως χρῄζειν, μήτ' ἐδήτων σημειωτῶν, μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοιωνδέ τινων καὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ κόμπῳ. *A Man may live at Court, and not want the Attendance of Guards, nor Laticlavian Veſts, nor* Lamps, *and Statues, with all the other Apparatus of Pomp and Equipage.*

ing

ing ſomewhat dark, he thought would favour his Attempt, and give him Time to get off undetected. When *Commodus* was in the Entrance, he ruſhed out ſuddenly againſt him with a naked Dagger, and told him aloud, That what he was about to do was by the Direction of the Senate; but inſtead of giving the immediate Blow, he took up ſo much Time in inſulting him with Words, and preſenting the Weapon, that he was ſeized by the Guards, and ſuffered the juſt Puniſhment of his Imprudence, in rather declaring than executing his Deſign, and thereby giving Time for himſelf to be taken by his own Information, and the Emperor to eſcape by being forewarned.

Perennius's Cruelty.

This was the firſt Riſe of that Hatred *Commodus* conceived againſt the Senate; for theſe Words ſunk deep into his Breaſt, and he looked upon the whole Body of Senators ever after as his common Enemies, never forgetting what *Quintian* had uttered the very Moment he was going to attack him. This was likewiſe a good Excuſe and ſufficient Pretence for *Perennius*; who adviſed the Monarch to cut off or degrade all who were inveſted with any conſiderable Power, that himſelf might ſeize on their Fortunes, and ſo become with Eaſe the richeſt Man of the Age. *Perennius*, being impowered to make a ſtrict Examination into the Conſpiracy, not only put to Death the Emperor's Siſter, and every one elſe concerned in the Plot; but by an indiſcriminate Severity, under Pretence of Zeal for his Sovereign, he took off great Numbers whom he thought envious of his Greatneſs, condemning them even upon the ſlighteſt Suſpicion.

His Treaſon.

Perennius having thus diſpatched all thoſe of whom *Commodus* ſtood in awe, and who loved him with a kind of paternal Affection, and had a ſincere Regard for his Safety, he kept the Emperor himſelf under Fear; and preſuming on his Power, entertained Thoughts of obtaining the Imperial Purple. He firſt perſuades *Commodus* to give the Command of the Forces in *Illyrium* to his two Sons, both very young. Then, while himſelf kept amaſſing immenſe Wealth, in order to bribe the Army at Home into Treaſon, his Sons, in the mean time, collected Forces in Secret, that when their Father ſhould have diſpatch'd *Commodus*, they might ſeize the Government in thoſe Parts. But their Schemes were detected in a very miraculous Manner.

Capitoline Games.

The *Romans* hold a *ſacred Contention* in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus* [m]. At theſe public

[m] The firſt *Capitoline Games* were inſtituted by *Camillus*, about 387 Years before the *Chriſtian Æra*, in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to commemorate yearly the Preſervation of the *Capitol* from being ſurprized by the *Gauls*, after they had taken and burnt the City.

But the *Capitoline Games* here meant were a more noble Sort, called *Capitolini agones*, *Capitoline Contentions*, inſtituted about ninety Years after CHRIST, by *Domitian*, who preſided in Perſon (as *Suetonius* relates) with Sandals on his Feet, cloathed in a purple *Greek* Cloak, and wearing a Crown of Gold on his Head, in which were the Images of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The Arch-Prieſt, and all the College of the Prieſts of the *Flavian* Family, ſat by him in the ſame Habit, except that in their Crowns was his own Image among the reſt. The Contendants were Poets, Muſicians, Riders, *Athletæ*, Orators in *Greek* and *Latin*; and even young Women ran Races. The Prizes were Crowns, Collars, and other Honours, beſtowed on the Victors by the Emperor's own Hands. Theſe Games were exhibited every five Years; and became ſo celebrated,

Games are exhibited a Variety of Spectacles, and Trials of Art, Strength, and Activity, amidſt an innumerable Conflux of People from all Parts, as is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, at a Time when the Queen of Cities is celebrating the great Feaſt of her principal God. Among the reſt of the Prieſts, whoſe Attendance in Order this annual Solemnity requires, the Emperor preſides, and commonly propoſes and awards the Prizes. When *Commodus* was come down into the Orcheſtra, and ſeated on a royal Throne, to give Audience and determine the Pretenſions of the principal Antagoniſts, the Theatre being crowded with Spectators, and every one having taken his Seat in juſt Order according to his Rank and Authority; before any thing was either uttered or acted on the Stage, a Man, habited like a Philoſopher, with a Staff in his Hands, and a Bag hanging over his half-naked Shoulders, ran in, and ſtanding in the Center of the Stage, beckon'd with his Hand for Silence; which when the Audience granted, he thus began.

" This is not a Time for you, O *Commodus*, " to ſpend in public Shews and Diverſions. This " Moment the Sword of *Perennius* is at your " Throat, and unleſs you guard againſt the " Danger, not approaching but preſent, your " Fall is inevitable, though unſeen. His Mo- " ney is already actually employed in buying " your Deſtruction, and his Sons are this Inſtant

that the Computation of Time by *Luſtres*, that had obtain'd till then, began to be diſcontinued; and the *Romans* counted by Quintennial *Capitoline Games*, as the *Greeks* uſed to do by *Olympiads*, which were Quadriennial.

"raiſing Sedition among your Troops in *Illyrium*. Beware, or periſh."

When he had thus ſpoken, whether moved by ſome ſupernatural Impulſe, or excited by the Deſire of Fame to ſo bold an Undertaking, as he was before in a mean and obſcure Condition; or whether it was, that he hoped an ample Reward for his ſtrange Information; whatever was his Motive, he ſtruck *Commodus* with Aſtoniſhment; and the whole Audience ſuſpected what he ſaid might be true, though they pretended not to credit it. But *Perennius* ordered him to be immediately apprehended, and burnt, as a Mad-man and an Aſſerter of injurious Falſehoods. Thus he ſuffered for his ill-timed Freedom. But they who attended on the Emperor's Perſon, and ſeemed to be well affected to his Intereſt, and had long hated *Perennius* (for his Pride and Inſolence were grown intolerable) thinking they had found a lucky Occaſion, employed it in repreſenting him as a dangerous Perſon. And Fate had ſo decreed, that *Commodus* was to eſcape the Snare; and *Perennius* and his Sons to periſh in their Treaſon.

Perennius and his Son put to Death.

For not long after, ſome of the Soldiers found Means to ſlip away, unknown to *Perennius's* Son, and bring with them to *Rome* Pieces of Money, on which was the Image of *Perennius*: Theſe they ſhewed to *Commodus*; and, having acquainted him with the Secrets of the Conſpiracy, were liberally rewarded for their Information. While *Perennius*, though Prefect, was ignorant of what was done, and expecting nothing of that Nature, *Commodus* ſends proper Perſons by Night to take off his Head [n]. This

[n] *Dio* gives a different Reaſon for *Perennius's* Death, aſcribing

done, he diſpatches, with all poſſible Expedition and Secreſy, Meſſengers to *Perennius's* Son; who, taking the ſhorteſt Way, came upon him before he had the leaſt Intimation of what had been done at *Rome*, and preſented him with a Letter, written in a friendly Style, from the Emperor; wherein he gave him Hopes of greater Preferments, and ordered him to come to *Rome* immediately. The young Man, not dreaming of the Deſign, and knowing nothing of his Father's Death (for the Meſſengers told him, his Father had ſent the ſame Orders by Word of Mouth, and would have written himſelf, but that he thought the Emperor's Letters ſufficient) complies with their Orders without the leaſt Suſpicion; and tho' inwardly vexed, at leaving his Enterprizes unfiniſhed, yet truſting to his Father's Power, which he thought ſtill exiſting, he ſets out on his Return. But when he came to *Italy*, he was immediately put to Death purſuant to the Emperor's Order. Such was the End of *Perennius* and his Son °.

aſcribing it to a Sedition among the Forces in *Britain*; from whom 1500 Darters were diſpatched to *Rome*, to accuſe *Perennius* of Treaſon. And *Lampridius* agrees with him in the ſame Account.

° Either the Copies are mutilated here, or *Herodian* has forgotten himſelf; for tho' *Lampridius* mentions but one Son of *Perennius*, who, he ſays, had the Honour of gaining ſeveral Victories in *Sarmatia*; yet our Author expreſsly told us, the Army in thoſe Parts was commanded by *Perennius's* two Sons; but we have only an Account of the Death of the eldeſt, without one Word of what became of his Brother; though he had previouſly inform'd us, that, ἐχρῆν—τὸν Περέννιον σὺν ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΙΣΙ διολέσθαι κακῶς. *It was ordained,—that* Perennius, *with his* Sons, *ſhould miſerably periſh.*

Commodus,

Commodus, after this, committed the Adminiſtration of Affairs to two Prefects, thinking it a Truſt too important to be lodged in a ſingle Perſon. This Method he took, to guard againſt any future Attempts upon the Throne, by equally dividing the Power between two Miniſters, each of whom might be a Check upon the Meaſures of his Collegue.

Rebellion of *Maternus*.

But not long after, another Rebellion was formed againſt him. One *Maternus*, who had formerly been a Soldier, but a daring and notorious Offender, having deſerted his Poſt in the Army, and perſuaded others to follow his Example, in a ſhort time collected a great Number of deſperate and abandon'd Fellows; and at firſt ſcouring the Country, and ranſacking the Villages, lived on Plunder. But growing rich, and encreaſing the Number of his Profligates, by promiſing large Rewards, and a Share in all they took, he began to be formidable; and his Crew was no longer look'd upon as a Gang of Robbers, but an Army of Enemies. They had now made themſelves Maſters of many great Towns, and forcibly breaking open Priſons, and reſcuing all that were detained in them without Diſtinction, be their Crimes ever ſo heinous; and not only freeing them for the preſent, but promiſing them total Impunity and Protection; by theſe kind Offices, they won great Numbers to their Party. In this licentious Manner they ran through all the Country of the *Celtæ* [p], and

[p] A Country in the South-weſt Part of *France*. The chief Town now in it is *Bourdeaux*.

Ibe-

Iberians [9], and took ſeveral very great Cities, ſome of which they burnt, others they plundered and left.

Commodus, being informed of theſe Things, was exceeding angry. He ſends Letters of Reprimand to the reſpective Governors, of theſe Nations; charging them with Remiſſneſs in their Duty, and threatning to puniſh their Negligence with the utmoſt Severity. At the ſame Time, he orders an Army to be got ready to march againſt the Rebels: Who hearing that Forces were raiſing againſt them, judged it proper to evacuate the Countries they had waſted; and having divided themſelves into ſmall Bodies, by ſecret Marches, through rugged Ways, unpaſſable by any conſiderable Numbers, they, in ſeparate Parties, got all into *Italy*. And now *Maternus* conceived bolder Deſigns, and was not without Hopes of getting Poſſeſſion of the Empire. For ſince his former Enterprizes had ſucceeded beyond the moſt ſanguine Expectations, he thought it his Duty, either by ſome noble Attempt, to complete his good Fortune; or elſe, as he had once entred into Peril, to meet his Fate with Intrepidity, and if he muſt fall, not to fall without Honour. But as he judged his Power inſufficient to engage with the Emperor in the open Field, he was loth to truſt his Fortune to the Deciſion of a public Battle (for he reckoned the whole *Roman* People, and particularly the Guards, to be ſtill well affected to *Commodus*) but hoped to ſucceed by Craft and Policy; and accordingly made Choice of the following Stratagem.

[9] Part of *Spain*, on the River *Ebro* (anciently call'd *Iberus*) containing *Saragoſa*, *Caſtile*, &c.

At

At the Beginning of the Spring, every Year, the *Romans* perform a pompous Proceſſion on a ſet Day, in Honour of the *Mother of the Gods*[r]; at which every Family's coſtly Ornaments

[r] She was called by ſeveral Names and Titles, as *Cybele*, *Rhea*, *Ops*; the *Dindyman*, *Idæan*, *Berecynthian*, and *Phrygian Mother*; the *Mother of the Gods*, the *great Goddeſs*, &c. and is by Mythologiſts (as *Lucretius*, lib. ii.) taken for the Earth. She was the Wife of *Saturn*, and Mother of *Jove*. Her Image was crowned with Towers, Caſtles, and Houſes; and her Prieſts, who were all *Phrygian* Eunuchs, danced at the Proceſſion in a very odd extravagant Manner, making a confuſed Noiſe with Pipes, Drums, Cymbals, and Horns; to commemorate the Preſervation of her Son *Jupiter*, by the *Curetes* and *Corybantes*; who by ſounding theſe Inſtruments at his Birth, and thereby drowning the Cries of the Infant, ſaved him from being devoured by his Father *Saturn* [or *Time*] who before uſed to eat all his Children as ſoon as born. The *Megalenſian Games*, which were thoſe held in Honour of this Goddeſs, were (according to *Antias*) the firſt ſcenical Sports exhibited at *Rome*.

However odd and fantaſtic thoſe Dancing-Feſtivals among the Heathens may ſeem to us Moderns; I cannot but obſerve, there is in them a ſtrong Reſemblance of ſome in uſe among the *Jews*. In the Inſtitution of the *Feaſt of Booths* (*Levit.* xxiii. 39.) it is commanded חגו אתו חג־יהוה שבעת ימים. *Ye ſhall dance the Dance of the Lord ſeven Days*. The Word חגג there uſed, ſignifies to twiſt and writhe the Body into a Variety of odd Poſtures, as Men elevated with enthuſiaſtic Tranſports In *Pſal.* cvii. 27. the ſame Word is uſed to expreſs the Staggering of drunken Men. And in 1 *Sam.* xxx. 16. the *Amalekites*, after their Conqueſt, are repreſented eating, drinking, וחגגים, *and enthuſiaſtically dancing*. In 2 *Sam.* vi. 14. King *David* is deſcribed dancing before the Ark in a very extraordinary Manner, ודוד מכרכר בכל־עז לפני יהוה. *And* David *jumped about like a Ram or Goat with all* [his] *Might before the Face of* Jehovah. His Wife deſpiſed this ſtrange Behaviour, thinking it low, and rebuked him for ſkipping about ſo indecently before the Servant-Maids: But we find the Royal Enthuſiaſt far from excuſing himſelf, and rather glorying in his religious Tranſports at the Proceſſion.

Now

and ſuperb Furniture, the treaſured Relicks and rich Moveables of Princes; in a word, every thing extraordinarily valuable or curious in Nature or Art, is brought forth to grace the Solemnity. A Liberty without Reſtraint is allowed for all kinds of Shews and Diverſions; and every one is permitted to change his Habit, alter his Countenance, and appear in any Character that ſhall ſuit his Humour: Nor is there a Badge

— Now whether we account for the Reſemblance from the ſimilar Nature of Enthuſiaſm in general; or whether we ſuppoſe it poſſible, that the Heathens might be acquainted with the *Jewiſh* Rites at their Feſtivals, and adopt ſome of them into their own Worſhip, corrupting and mingling them with the Caſtration of their Prieſts (perhaps a corrupt Imitation of Circumciſion) and other barbarous Cuſtoms of their own, thereby improving as it were on the Madneſs of the Ceremonies; or whether the *Hebrew* Rites themſelves were only an Alteration or Reformation of the Pagan; 'tis certain, that many of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, were as unaccountable and ſtrange to the Reaſon of our Times, as the extravagant Cuſtoms of the Heathen: Nor can we ridicule or deſpiſe the latter, without at the ſame time bearing very hard on the former. Even the frantic Behaviour of the Prieſts of this Goddeſs, in their mad Proceſſions at her Feſtivals, ſo comically deſcribed by *Juvenal*, Sat. vi. is equalled by the Phrenzy of the *Jewiſh* Prophets; who, among other odd Cuſtoms, uſed ſometimes to ſtrip themſelves naked when they propheſied: And we are told (1 *Sam.* xix. 24.) that the King himſelf, in his Fit of prophetic Inſpiration, did the ſame. Nor is the Similitude conſpicuous only in the religious Ceremonies of the *Jews* and Heathens; but it appears as plain in the ſeveral Accounts of the political Advantages made of their Religion by their reſpective Rulers. To mention one Inſtance: What two Stories can be more alike, than that of *Romulus* procuring Wives for his new Citizens, by ſeizing the *Sabine* Virgins at a religious Feſtival; and that of the *Benjaminites* (*Judges* xxi) ſnatching the young Women of *Shiloh*; who (as it is in the Original) were capering about like *mad* People at one of the *Dancing-Feaſts* of *Jehovah*?

of

of Authority, or Robe of State, but any One may aſſume at Pleaſure, and repreſent what Office or Quality he fancies; inſomuch, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh between the true and the counterfeit Perſonages. This was by *Maternus* judged a proper Conjuncture to act his covert Treaſon. He reſolved to diſguiſe himſelf and his Followers in the Dreſs of the Emperor's Life-Guards; and hoped, that carrying Spears in their Hands, and mixing with the Guards who marched in the Proceſſion, they might eaſily paſs for thoſe they perſonated; and while no one ſuſpected any Attempt of that Nature, he, being admitted to be near the Emperor, as one of his Attendants, might fall upon him on a ſudden, and diſpatch him. But a Diſcovery being made by ſome of his Accomplices, who entred the City before the Time appointed, and informed of the Plot (This they did through Envy, as they could not bear the Thoughts of having him for their Maſter and Monarch, who was juſt before but a principal Robber) *Maternus* himſelf was apprehended before the Feſtival, and beheaded; and the reſt of the Conſpirators brought to condign Puniſhment. *Commodus*, after ſacrificing to the Goddeſs, and returning her Thanks for his Preſervation, celebrated the Feaſt, and with great Gladneſs attended her Image in the Proceſſion; while the People made public Demonſtrations of double Joy, in Honour of the Goddeſs, and for the happy Deliverance of their Emperor.

Maternus beheaded.

Story of the Mother of the Gods.

Here it may not be amiſs, for the ſake of thoſe among the *Greeks* who are unacquainted with the Story, to mention the Reaſons we have gathered from Hiſtorians, why the *Romans* perform

form ſuch peculiar Acts of religious Worſhip to this Goddeſs. Her Image (as they tell us) fell from *Jupiter*. What is the Material, or who was the Artiſt, is unknown; nor will they have it the Work of a human Hand. We are told, it dropt down from Heaven upon a Place in *Phrygia* called *Peſſinus*; that the Name was given to the Place from the Image *falling* from Heaven, and being firſt ſeen there. But I find the Name otherwiſe accounted for in other Authors; who report, that a War aroſe between *Ilus* the *Phrygian*, and *Tantalus* the *Lydian*; relating, as ſome ſay, to certain Roads; or, as others, concerning the Rape of *Ganymede*; that the Victory was for a long while equally doubtful on both Sides; that in either Party great Numbers *fell*; and from that Slaughter the Place derived its Name. There is likewiſe a Tradition, that *Ganymede* was loſt there, being torn aſunder by his Brother and his Lover, each forcibly pulling him to himſelf; and when his Body could no where be found, the Boy's Sufferings were ſufficient to get him canonized, and his Rape attributed to *Jupiter*: Whence ſprang that common Fable, of *Jupiter's* ſeizing *Ganymede*, and carrying him into Heaven. In this very *Peſſinus* the *Phrygians* anciently performed *Orgies*, or odd religious Rites, at the River *Gallus*; whence the caſtrated Prieſts of this Goddeſs are called *Galli*. But when the *Roman* State increaſed, the Oracle told them, their Power ſhould laſt, and continually grow greater, if they ſent and fetch'd the *Peſſinuntian Deity* into their Territory. They preſently diſpatched Ambaſſadors into *Phrygia* to requeſt the Image; which they eaſily obtained, by repreſenting to them,

them, how the *Romans* were related to the *Phrygians* by lineal Deſcent from *Æneas* their Countryman. The Image was brought by Sea, and arrived at the Mouths of the *Tiber*; which the *Romans* uſed as Havens for their Navy; when, on a ſudden, the Veſſel ſtood ſtill by the divine Power of the Deity: Nor could the whole *Roman* People, with their united Strength, ſtir it from the Mud where it ſtuck, till a Prieſteſs of the Goddeſs *Veſta* was brought. This Maid was accuſed of having polluted that Vow of perpetual Virginity, ſhe was bound to preſerve by the Laws of her Order; and as her Trial approached, ſhe entreated the People, to ſubmit the Proof of her Innocence to the Deciſion of the *Peſſinuntian Goddeſs*. Having untied her Zone, ſhe wades to the Prow, and after praying aloud, That if her Honour was unblemiſhed, ſhe might have Power to draw the Ship; ſhe faſtens her Zone, and pulling it gently, the Ship immediately followed, to the Aſtoniſhment of the *Romans*; who beheld at once the miraculous Power of the Goddeſs, and the immaculate Chaſtity of the Veſtal. Thus much I thought proper to relate of the famous Hiſtory of the *Peſſinuntian Goddeſs*; a little too oſtentatious, perhaps, yet not altogether unſerviceable to thoſe, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the *Roman* Story. But to return.

Peſtilence at *Rome*.

Commodus, after his Eſcape from *Maternus's* Treaſon, kept a greater Number of Guards about his Perſon, and came abroad very ſeldom; but ſpent moſt of his Time in the Suburbs, or at his Imperial Seats in the Country, more diſtant from *Rome*; where he gave himſelf up to Idleneſs, never troubling himſelf with

with the public Adminiſtration of Juſtice, or any Offices becoming a Sovereign. It happened that a peſtilential Diſtemper about this Time ſpread through *Italy*, but raged moſt at *Rome*; by reaſon of the great Number of Inhabitants, and that Multitude of People continually flocking thither from every Quarter. The Mortality was very great both among Men and Beaſts. The Emperor, at the Advice of ſeveral Phyſicians, retired to *Laurentum*. For this, being a Country of a cooler Air, and ſhaded by a great many Woods abounding with Laurels (whence the Place took its Name) ſeemed the moſt likely Refuge from the Contagion; inaſmuch as the ſweet Smell of the Laurel, and the pleaſant Shades of the Trees, are reckoned good Preſervatives againſt the Infection of the Air. Wherefore thoſe who lived in and about the City, adviſed by the Phyſicians, filled their Noſtrils and Ears with ſweet Unguents, and continually made uſe of Perfumes and Spices. For it is a received Opinion, that the Fumes and Odours of aromatic Remedies ſtop up the Pores of the Body, and hinder the Admiſſion of peſtilential Air; or if not applied ſoon enough to prevent its Entrance, yet are capable of ſuppreſſing its morbific Quality by their ſuperior Virtues. The Diſtemper, nevertheleſs, raged moſt terribly, and was very fatal to the human Species, and all kinds of Creatures converſant with Men.

The Emperor retires to *Laurentum*.

At the ſame Time alſo the City was diſtreſſed with a Famine, which owed its Riſe to the following Cauſe[f]. There was one *Cleander*, a

Cleander increaſes a Famine.

[f] *Cleander* was *Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts*, or Emperor's Life-Guards, a Place of great Truſt and Authority.

Phrygian by Parentage, and of that ſort of People, that are publickly ſet to Sale by a common Cryer. This Man being brought up with *Commodus*, was ſo much honoured by him, as to fill up many Places of Truſt and Power. He was one of his Body-Guards; had the Care of his Bed-chamber; and at laſt, the chief Command of the Soldiers. His exceſſive Wealth and Luxury excited in him Hopes of attaining to the Imperial Dignity. For amaſſing prodigious Sums of Money, and buying up and hoarding large Quantities of Corn, he hoped to purchaſe the Favour of the People and Soldiers (if he could firſt plunge them into Want

Papirius Dionyſius at the ſame Time was *Prefect of the public Granaries*; whoſe Office was to inſpect and regulate the Diſtribution of Corn. It was no hard Matter for theſe two Officers, by a ſiniſter Colluſion, to cauſe a Dearth, or at leaſt aggravate one, that exiſted already. For the great Quantities of Corn brought to *Rome* from the ſeveral Provinces were repoſited in the public Storehouſes, for the Subſiſtence of the Soldiers and poor Plebeians; and the Surpluſage expoſed to Sale. Frequent Diſtributions of Corn were made by the Emperors amongſt the People, eſpecially in Times of Scarceneſs. *Herodian* therefore tells us, that *Cleander*, Prefect of the Soldiers (to whom the Prefect of the Granaries was accountable) by Peculation and other clandeſtine Meaſures, ſecreted the public Corn into his own private Hoards, and, under pretence of Scarcity, made very ſparing Diſtributions, and greatly enhanced the Price of the Remainder. Tho' *Zonaras* reports, that *Papirius* was the Perſon in fault, who increaſed the Dearth out of Spite to *Cleander*. Ὡς ἂν τὸν Κλέανδρον μισήσωσί τε καὶ διαφθείρωσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν διὰ κλέμματα. *That the Populace might be incenſed, and cut off* Cleander, *as one whoſe private Embezzlements were the Cauſe of their Diſtreſs.* I mention this to ſhew, that let either, or both the Miniſters be culpable, it was eaſy for one or two Men to cauſe a Famine at *Rome*: Which at firſt appears ſtrange, if not impoſſible, to thoſe who are unacquainted with the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Government at that Time.

of

of Neceſſaries) by making large and ſeaſonable Gratuities, at a Time when they were labouring under Poverty and Dearth. He built a magnificent *Gymnaſium* [t], and gave the Uſe of the Bath *gratis* to the Public, as a Bait to lure the People to his Intereſt. But the *Romans*, who had long hated him, now looking on him as the Cauſe of their preſent Calamities, and deteſting his unbounded Greedineſs after Money, at firſt only treated him with rough Behaviour and foul Language, as he came into the Theatres: At length, while *Commodus* reſided in the Suburbs, they came in a Body, and with loud Clamours demanded *Cleander*, in order to put him to Death. This Diſturbance ſoon ſpread round the ſuburban Villa, where *Commodus* had retreated; and while he was paſſing his Time in Eaſe and Luxury, knowing nothing of the Uproar (for *Cleander* had prevented his having any Information) all on a ſudden, when no one ſuſpected it, the Emperor's Horſe-Guards, by *Cleander's* Order, made a Sally upon the Malecontents, ſtriking and wounding every body they met. The People, unable to make Reſiſtance, as they were taken at Diſad-

[t] A public Edifice deſtined for all kinds of Learning and Exerciſe, ſuch as Philoſophy, Grammar, Phyſic, Oratory, Dancing, Wreſtling, Running, Jumping, Darting, *&c.* It contained ſeveral Baths, cold and hot, Galleries, Portico's, a variety of Walks and Apartments, appropriated to the Colleges of the ſeveral Profeſſions. Theſe Buildings were call'd *Gymnaſia*, from Γυμνὸς, *Gymnos*, *Naked*; becauſe the Combatants generally contended naked. *Tully*, at the Beginning of his Second Book *De Oratore*, tells us, the *Greeks* were the Inventors of *Gymnaſia*; which were firſt inſtituted only for Paſtimes, but afterwards came to be the Seats of Philoſophical Diſputations.

vantage, themſelves unarm'd, the Guards full arm'd; they on foot, theſe well mounted, turned about and fled into the City with ſuch Precipitation, that, beſides great Numbers who fell by the Sword, and were trodden down by the Horſes, they crouded, ſtamped, wounded and killed one another; and the Horſe advancing upon them, made a terrible Havock: For they purſued them quite to the Gates of *Rome* unoppoſed; and cut to pieces every one that fell within their Reach, without any Regard or Diſtinction. But they who remain'd in the City, alarmed at the Misfortune of their Fellow-Citizens, took to their Houſes; and having barred their Doors, went up to the Roofs, and thence threw down great Stones and Tiles upon the Horſe-Guards. Theſe now ſuffered, what they had before inflicted; for none of them could come near their Adverſaries; who, ſecured by their ſuperior Poſts, annoyed them at a Diſtance, wounding and knocking down ſuch Numbers, that they could not ſuſtain the Showers of Stones, but were obliged to retire faſter than they had advanced: Nor did they eſcape without conſiderable Loſs; for the Horſes ſtumbled againſt the Stones, fell down, threw their Riders, and cruſh'd others with their Weight. While the Slaughter was thus great on both Sides, the Foot-Soldiers quartered in the City, as they hated the Horſe, flew with great Eagerneſs to the Aſſiſtance of the People.

During the Heat of this Civil War, No-body durſt carry the Account of what had happened to the Emperor, for fear of feeling the Effects of *Cleander's* Reſentment; till *Fadilla*, *Commodus's* eldeſt Siſter, ran to her Brother (for her near

great Relation to him gain'd her free Access) and, with her Hair dishevell'd, threw herself on the Ground, in all the Symptoms of Distress and Horror.

"While you, O Prince (says she) remain in "Quiet, ignorant of the impending Danger that "threatens you, we, your Royal Family, are "on the Brink of Ruin. You have lost the "*Roman* People, and the greatest Part of the "Army; and what we never should dread from "the most barbarous Nations, we suffer from "the Hands of our own Countrymen. Your "greatest Favourites, are your worst Enemies. "*Cleander* has armed the Citizens and Soldiery "to your Destruction. In this Civil Commotion, "the People incensed against him, and the "whole Horse espousing his Quarrel, all your "Subjects are in Arms, slaughtering one ano-"ther, and filling *Rome* with the Blood of her "Inhabitants. But the Resentment of either "Party will inevitably fall upon us, unless you "immediately deliver up to Punishment your "wicked Minister; who is the Cause of all that "Destruction and Misery already inflicted on "the unhappy Sufferers, and that dreadful Ruin "which is ready to overwhelm us all, if not "vigorously and speedily prevented." *Fadilla* informs *Commodus* of the Civil War.

Having thus said, she rent her Garments; and several of those present, taking Fire at what they heard from the Emperor's Sister, gave *Commodus* the Alarm. He was shock'd at his Sister's Words; and being frighted at the Danger, not at a distance but instant, he sends for *Cleander*; who, though not certain, yet suspected the News must by this time have reach'd the Emperor's Ears. Immediately, on his Ap- *Cleander* beheaded.

proach, he was ſeized; and his Head, being ſtruck off, and faſtened on a long Spear, was carried out and expoſed to public View; a very pleaſing and deſirable Spectacle to the People. This wholeſom Step put a ſudden Period to the Evil. Both Parties relaxed their Fury; the Soldiers, at the Sight of his Head for whom they were fighting, and for fear of incurring the Anger of the Prince (for they now perceived he had been impoſed on, and theſe violent Meaſure were taken contrary to his Sentiments;) and the People, for that they were ſatisfied with the Puniſhment of him, who had been the Cauſe of all their Calamities. However, they carried their Reſentment ſo far, as to take off *Cleander's* two Sons, and all whom they knew to be his Friends; and having dragged their Bodies through the Streets, and done them every Indignity their Rage ſuggeſted, they at laſt threw them into the Common Sewers. Thus miſerably periſh'd *Cleander* and his Friends; whoſe End may ſerve to teach us, the Inconſtancy of human Nature, that ſeemed ambitious (if I may be allow'd the Expreſſion) to ſhew, by the Example of one Man, that to be raiſed from the loweſt and moſt abject Condition, to the higheſt Summit of Power and Fortune; and from thence to be thrown down headlong into the Depth of Miſery; is the Effect but of a trivial, momentary, unexpected Nod of Fortune.

Commodus returns to the City.

Commodus, though he feared the Commotion was not thoroughly ſtill'd, and that the People, thus provoked, might in their Fury attempt ſome Miſchief againſt his Perſon; yet at the preſſing Perſuaſion of his Friends, came into the

the City; where he was received with all the Demonſtrations of Welcome, and entred the Imperial Palace amidſt the joyous Attendance and loud Acclamations of the People. But afterwards, reflecting on the many Dangers of this kind he had experienced, he miſtruſted the Honeſty of all his Subjects; and giving Credit to the moſt ill-grounded Calumnies, he inhumanly put to Death great Numbers, even upon the ſlighteſt Accuſation. Nor had he any Man of Honour or Probity about him; but abandoning all Regard for Virtue, or even common Decency, he gave up his whole Soul to libidinous Pleaſures, debaſing himſelf Night and Day in Scenes of the moſt unmanly and groſſeſt Senſuality. Every ſober moral Man, and all who had the leaſt Reputation for good Senſe or Learning, he baniſh'd the Court as dangerous Perſons; and in their Room cheriſhed a Sett of Jeſters, Buffoons, and Actors of lewd Farces. He was peculiarly fond of driving Chariots at the Races, and fighting with wild Beaſts; which kind of brutal Courage, his Sycophants and Paraſites extolled as heroic; and by thus ſoothing his Vanity, prompted him to engage in theſe low Exerciſes, with an Eagerneſs far beneath the Dignity of a Monarch.

About theſe Times there appeared ſeveral ſurprizing Prodigies. Stars were continually ſeen in the Day-time; ſome of which, as if they were looſed from their proper Stations, diffuſed a long Gleam of Light, and ſeemed ſuſpended in the midſt of the Air. Animals too, of various Kinds, were often brought forth with Forms very different from their own Species, and a variety of unnatural monſtrous Parts Prodigies.

of the Body. But what gave the greateſt Shock for the preſent, and moſt alarmed all, who looked upon it as an Omen portentive of ſome dire enſuing Calamity, was, that without any previous Showers, or gathering Clouds, or any thing but a ſlight inconſiderable Trembling of the Earth; whether by a ſudden nocturnal Thunder-bolt, or Fire ſtruck out of the Earth by the forementioned ſhaking, the whole Temple of *Peace*[v] was ſet on fire, and reduced to Aſhes. This was one of the moſt beautiful and magnificent Edifices in all the City; and contained an immenſe Quantity of Riches. For beſides that it was decorated with a great Number of religious Gifts of Gold and Silver; as it was a ſtrong and well guarded Place, it was made a public Receptacle of Treaſures, and every one carried to it his moſt valuable Effects, as to a Depoſitory of unqueſtioned Security. But by this ſudden Fire, happening in the Night, many who juſt before were exceeding wealthy, were now reduced to Poverty. So that there was an univerſal Lamentation, all in general bewailing the public Misfortune; and each in particular mourning his private Loſs.

Temple of *Peace* burnt.

The Fire not only utterly conſumed the Temple and the whole Circle of Buildings about it, but communicated itſelf to moſt of the fineſt Structures of the City; and among the reſt, the Temple of *Veſta* was burnt; and the ſacred Image of *Pallas*, to which the *Romans* pay uncommon Veneration, and which (as

Temple of *Veſta* burnt.

[v] The Temple of *Peace* ſtood next to the *Forum*. It was built by *Veſpaſian* the Firſt, above 100 Years before this Fire happened.

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(they say) was brought from *Troy*, was expoſed to public View: So that the Men of our Age beheld the *Palladium*, never ſeen by any before ſince the Time it came from *Ilium* into *Italy* [x]. For the Veſtal Virgins laid hold on it in the Hurry and Confuſion, and carried it openly through the *Via Sacra* [y] into the Imperial Palace. Many other very beautiful Parts of the City ſuffered greatly by the Fire; which increaſed and ſpread ſeveral Days, waſting and deſtroying all it met; nor did it ceaſe or intermit, till ſome violent Showers of Rain falling ſuppreſſed its Fury; which made them of thoſe Times refer the whole Accident to the miraculous Power of the Gods; who, they believed, firſt inflicted, and afterwards, by their unexpected Interpoſition, put a Stop to the ſpreading Evil. Nor were there wanting, who interpreted it as an Omen; ſaying, the Temple of *Peace* deſtroyed by Fire, muſt certainly portend enſuing Wars. And indeed the Event of Affairs that followed (as we ſhall ſhew) ſeemed to confirm their Prognoſtication.

As the City thus groaned under ſuch Loads of various Miſery, the *Roman* People now no longer beheld *Commodus* with their wonted Af- *Commodus* calls himſelf *Hercules.*

[x] The *Pontifices*, or Chief Prieſts, and the *Veſtal* Nuns, had frequent Acceſs to it, but none beſides.

[y] i. e. *Holy-Street*; a Street in *Rome* ſo call'd, either from its containing a great Number of Churches, and leading to the *Capitol*, or Temple of *Jupiter*; or (as, *Feſtus* ſays, is the Opinion of ſome Authors) becauſe the Prieſts carried the Sacrifices of *Jupiter* through this Street to the Capitol on the Ides of every Month; when, according to *Ovid*, Faſt. lib. i. and *Macrobius*, *Saturn.* lib. i. c. 15. a large white Ewe-Lamb was ſacrificed to *Jupiter*. *Varro*, de Ling. *Lat.* lib. iv. ſeems to countenance this laſt Opinion.

fection;

fection; but imputed all theſe accumulated Evils to his illegal Murthers, and the other Impieties of his Life. For his Actions were no Secrets; nor indeed did he endeavour to make them ſuch: On the contrary, what he was charged with doing at Home, he was doing enough to ſhew openly to the Public. And to ſuch a pitch of Frenzy and Wantonneſs was he now arrived, that he diſown'd the Name he had from his Father, and, inſtead of *Commodus*, and the *Son of Marcus*, would be called *Hercules*, and the *Son of Jove*; accordingly, rejecting the Habit of the *Romans*, and the Imperial Robes, he put on a Lion's Skin next his own, and carried a Club in his Hands, and wore over the Skin purple Garments, and embroidered with Gold; to the no ſmall Mirth of Spectators, who could not refrain laughing, to ſee him imitate the gaudy Finery of Women, and at the ſame time mimic the hardy Virtues of Heroes. In this kind of Dreſs he commonly came abroad. He likewiſe took upon him to alter the Names of the Months, giving them Titles of his own; moſt of which had ſome relation to *Hercules*, becauſe he was the moſt ſtout and manly. He erected Statues of himſelf through all the City; one oppoſite to the Senate-houſe, holding a bent Bow; that ſo his very Images might menace Miſchief: Which the Senate pull'd down after his Death, and in its Place ſet up the Effigies of *Liberty*.

At length, throwing off all Senſe of Shame, he iſſued Proclamations for the Exhibition of new public Shews, boaſting, that he would kill all kinds of wild Beaſts with his own Hands; and challenging the ſtouteſt young Fellows of the

the Age to ſingle Combat. The Fame of which being ſpread, People came flocking from all Parts of *Italy* and the confining Nations, to be Spectators of what they had never before either ſeen or heard; it being given out, that he was ſo dextrous a Markſman, that whatever he aimed at with Dart or Arrow, he never miſſed. For he had always with him, as his Inſtructors, *Parthians* and *Moors*; the former of whom were the moſt excellent Archers, and the latter the beſt Throwers of Darts; but *Commodus*, in Dexterity, out-did them all.

His ſurprizing Dexterity.

When the Time appointed for the Shews was come, the Amphitheatre was crouded with Spectators; and a *Peridrome*[z] had been built for *Commodus*, that he might not run the Hazard of engaging with the Beaſts in cloſe Fight, but dart or ſhoot at them from a ſuperior Poſt; to give Proofs rather of his Dexterity, than Courage. Stags, and Deers, and all other horned Creatures, except Bulls, he ran with, and ſmote them as he purſued; for intercepting them in their Courſe, and hitting them with the utmoſt Nicety and Exactneſs, he ſtruck

[z] The *Amphitheatre* was a large Building, of an oval Figure; it differed from the *Theatre*, as Half from the Whole; the Theatre being of a ſemicircular Form, only ſomewhat longer than a juſt Semicircle; and the Amphitheatre repreſenting two Theatres at the End of one another. Its *Arena* or *Pit* was environed with Seats riſingone above another, for the Convenience of Spectators.

The *Peridrome* here mentioned was a temporary Iſle, built all round the Arena, with a Row of Columns on the Inſide, and a Breaſt-work without, raiſed to a convenient Height; from whence *Commodus* might conveniently dart at the Beaſts, without Fear of being ſeized and torn by them.

them

them dead upon the Spot. But Lions, and Panthers, and other ſtrong and fierce Creatures, he ran after in his *Peridrome*, and darted at them from above; nor did any one ſee him throw a ſecond Dart, or inflict a Wound leſs than mortal: For as the Creature ſtarted with all its Fury, he would hit him in the Forehead, Heart, or wherever he thought fit; never aiming at a wrong Part of the Body, ſo as to wound without killing. Animals from every Country were collected for him: So that then we had the Sight of all thoſe Creatures, whoſe Pictures we had gazed at before with great Admiration. The Breed of *India*, *Æthiopia*, and other Regions, unknown to our Fathers, under Southern or Northern Climes, did *Commodus* kill, and ſhew to the *Romans*; who were all aſtoniſhed at the unerring Certainty of his Hand. For he ſometimes took Shafts pointed in the Form of a Half-Moon, and ſhot them at *Mauritanian* Oſtriches, Creatures that would run prodigiouſly ſwift, while their Wings expanded like ſwelling Sails lighten'd them from the Ground, and made them ſkim along with incredible Celerity; and hitting the upper Part of their Necks, he cut off their Heads with ſuch ſurprizing Velocity, that they continued their Courſe for ſome time after they had loſt their Heads, as if they had ſuffered no Hurt. At other Times, he would call out one of the Prize-fighters of the *Arena*, and expoſe him to a Panther, that would run at him with the utmoſt Fury; but at the Moment ſhe ſeized him, before ſhe could faſten her Jaws, *Commodus* would hit her with a Dart, kill the Beaſt, and reſcue the Man; the Point of the Weapon executing

cuting with quicker Diſpatch, than the Edge of her Teeth. At another Time, he would have a hundred Lions, one immediately upon another, ſent out of ſubterranean Dens; all which he killed with an equal Number of Darts, in ſuch wonderful Regularity, that their Carcaſes, lying cloſe together, might eaſily be counted; and every Spectator ſee, that not one Dart had been idle.

He commences Gladiator.

Thus far his Exploits, tho' not very agreeable with the Character of a Prince, yet as they carried with them an Air of Excellency, and a Shew of Manhood, were not diſpleaſing to the Commonalty. But when he entred the Amphitheatre naked, and, furniſh'd with the Weapons of Gladiators, fought ſingle Combats, the Sight was odious to all the People; that the Emperor of *Rome*, deſcended from ſo noble a Family, graced with ſo many Triumphs of his Father and Anceſtors, inſtead of taking up the Arms of a Soldier againſt the Barbarians and Enemies of his Country, or wearing the Emblems of the *Imperial Power*, ſhould diſgrace the high Authority with which he was inveſted, by appearing in the moſt ſhameful and infamous Character. 'Tis eaſy for the Reader to believe, he had no great Difficulty to conquer his Antagoniſts; who all yielded upon the firſt Wounds they received, afraid to exert their utmoſt Power againſt one, whom they rather looked on in the Light of a Sovereign than a Combatant. And ſo far did his frantic Fits carry him, that he reſolved to leave the Imperial Court, and remove into the public School of Gladiators. The Name of *Hercules* pleaſed no longer, and he would now be called the Son of a famous

Gladiator deceaſed; and having cut off the Head of a huge Coloſſean Statue, repreſenting the Image of the Sun, which the *Romans* religiouſly worſhipped, and placed it upon his own Statue, he had inſcribed on the Pedeſtal, not any of his wonted Imperial or Paternal Titles, but, inſtead of *Germanicus*, *The Conqueror of a Thouſand Prize-fighters*[a].

A.D. 193. *The Saturnalia.* But the Time drew near, that was ordained to end his Madneſs, and free the *Roman* Empire from Tyranny. The firſt Day of the New Year, the *Romans* celebrate a Feſtival in Honour of *Janus*, the ancient Country-God of *Italy*. For they have a Tradition, that when *Saturn* was dethroned by his Son *Jupiter*, he fled down to the Earth, and was entertain'd by *Janus*; and fearing the Power of his Son, lay conceal'd at his Houſe; whence the *Greek* Name of the Country was altered into one of their own Language; and becauſe *Saturn* there *lay hid*, inſtead of *Italy*[b], the Inhabitants called it

[a] In *Dio* we find Πρῶτος Πάλος (which ſhould be Πρωτόπαλος) σεκατόρων. *The Head-Champion of the Secutores.* The *Secutores*, i. e. *Followers*, was one of the Sects of Gladiators; which Commentators, from a miſtaken Paſſage of *Juvenal*, Sat. viii. ℣ 199. have falſely thought the ſame with the *Mirmillones*. The *Mirmillo* was a Gladiator armed with a Shield and Helmet, on which was the Picture of a Fiſh. His Antagoniſt, the *Retiarius*, had a Net in one Hand, and a Trident in the other; the former to entangle, the latter to kill his Adverſary. But the *Secutores*, whoſe Arms *Commodus* uſed to wear, were ſent in, in the room of a conquer'd Gladiator, to take up his Arms and oppoſe the Victor. This was the Title *Commodus* inſcribed on his Statue, as thinking it redounded more to his Glory, to have conquered the Conquerors a thouſand Times.

[b] *Timæus*, and *Varro* (according to *Gellius*, lib. ii. c. 1.) derive the Name *Italia* from Ἰταλὸς, *Italus*, an *Ox*; becauſe ancient *Italy* abounded with great Numbers of Oxen.

Latium;

Latium[c]; and upon the ſame Account, the *Italians*, to this Day, firſt keep the *Saturnalian* Holy-days, to commemorate the Concealment of the baniſh'd God, and afterwards celebrate the Feaſt of the New-year in Honour of *Janus*, his Hoſt, whoſe Image has two Faces, becauſe in him is both the End of the Old, and the Beginning of the New Year[d]. In theſe Holy-days, which precede the great Feaſt, and during which the *Romans* pay conſtant Salutations and frequent Viſits to their Friends, and entertain one another with great Mirth and Jollity, ſending mutual Preſents of Money, and communicating all the good Things both of Land and Sea; and when all the principal Magiſtrates firſt appear in their Symbols of State, and annual Purple; *Commodus* reſolved, while the City was in the height of Feſtivity, to come forth, not from the Imperial Palace, as was the Cuſtom, but from the School of Gladiators, wearing their Arms inſtead of the Imperial Purple, and attended by the whole Gang of Prize-fighters, to make his public Appearance to the People. But having communicated his Deſign to *Marcia*, the chief of his Concubines, to whom he gave all the Reſpect and Honour due to a Wife, inſomuch that ſhe came ſhort in none of the Dignities of his Empreſs, except the Ceremony of carrying the Fire before her; at hearing ſo raſh and unbecoming a Reſolution, ſhe at firſt

[c] From *Lateo*, *I lie hid.*

[d] Hence the firſt Month of their Year, as divided by *Numa* into twelve Months, was ſacred to *Janus*, and from him call'd *Januarius*, *January*. Whereas *Romulus's* Year had but ten Months, the firſt of which was dedicated to *Mars*, the ſecond to *Venus*, and from her call'd *April*.

fell

fell at his Feet, begging and beſeeching him, with Tears, that he would not, by ſo imprudent a Step, diſgrace the *Roman* Empire, and expoſe himſelf to Danger, by committing his Safety to a Set of infamous Prize-fighters, to the Dregs of the Vulgar and Scum of Slavery. But, after many Prayers and Remonſtrances to no Effect, *Marcia* was forced to retire, weeping at the Unſucceſsfulneſs of her Counſels. When ſhe was gone, he ſends for *Lætus* Prefect of his Camps, and *Electus* his Chamberlain; and orders them to make Preparations of a Bed, and all other Conveniences in the Gladiator's School, where he deſigned to paſs the Night, and thence to come out next Morning to the Sacrifices of the New-year's Feaſt, and appear to the People in the Arms of the Arena. They endeavoured, by Prayers and Intreaties, to diſſuade him from his Purpoſe, ſo derogatory to the Dignity of his Throne; but he, in a violent Paſſion, bids them be gone; and goes himſelf into his Room to take a Nap (for it was his Cuſtom to ſleep in the middle of the Day) carrying with him a little Pocket-book, with Leaves made of the Skin of the Linden-Tree, which, by reaſon of their Fineneſs, folding eaſily one over another, may be claſped cloſe, and contained in a ſmall Compaſs. In this he writes the Names of all he deſigned to put to Death that Night; the firſt of whom was *Marcia*, after her *Lætus* and *Electus*, and then a great Number of the Chief of the Senate: For he reſolved to diſpatch all the Elders of the City, and the Remainder of his Father's Friends; becauſe he was loth to have ſuch grave Perſonages Inſpectors of his ſhameful Actions; and

and at the ſame time was willing to take off the moſt Wealthy, that he might ſeize upon their Fortunes, and diſtribute them amongſt his Soldiers and Prize-fighters; to engage the former to guard his Perſon, and the latter to make him Diverſion. Having ſet down the Names of the Condemned, he lays the Book upon the Bed, thinking no one would dare to enter the Room without his Orders.

There was then at Court a little Boy, a mere Infant, who went naked of Clothes, but ornamented with Gold and precious Stones, a piece of Luxury very common among the *Romans*; for all who were famous for high ſumptuous Living, kept one of theſe little Minions. This Infant was ſo much *Commodus's* Darling, that he uſed often to lie with him, and was called *Philocommodus*, that his very Name might expreſs the great Love the Emperor had for the Child. He, playing about the Apartments of the Emperor, who was now taken up with bathing and revelling, ran, as uſual, into the Bed-chamber; and having taken the Book off the Bed for a Play-thing, carries it out of the Room, and, by ſome Direction of Providence, meets with *Marcia*, who was herſelf very fond of the Child. She immediately catches him up in her Arms, and kiſſes him; and obſerving the Book in his Hand, ſhe takes it from him, fearing leſt the Child might ſpoil or tear ſomething of Conſequence contained in it. But ſeeing the Emperor's Hand, it excited her Curioſity to examine the Contents; which ſhe ſoon found to be Sentences of Death; and, to her great Aſtoniſhment, ſaw a long Liſt of the Condemned, at the Head of which was her own Name, followed

lowed by thoſe of *Lætus* and *Electus*. Upon which, burſting into Tears, "O brave *Commodus* (ſays ſhe) are theſe the Returns of Affection and Love? Is this my Reward for bearing your Affronts and beaſtly Indignities for ſo many Years?—But it ſhall never be, that a drunken Madman ſhall prevent the Reſolves of a Woman in her Senſes." Upon this, ſhe immediately ſends for *Electus*, who had frequent Acceſs to her, not only as he had the Care of the Bed-chamber, but (as it was rumour'd) on account of a ſecret Intrigue between them; and giving him the Book, "See here (ſhe cries) what a glorious Feaſt we are like to celebrate!" *Electus*, who was an *Egyptian* by Birth, and had Subtilty and Courage enough to contrive and execute any great Deſign, and was by Nature prone to Reſentment, having read the Liſt, was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment; but Revenge ſoon getting the better of Surprize, he ſhuts the Book, and by one whom he could truſt ſends it to *Lætus*. He likewiſe alarm'd at the Peruſal, runs immediately to *Marcia*, as if he was going to concert with her and *Electus* about the Emperor's Orders relating to the Prize-fighters School. Under this Pretext, they had an Opportunity of conſulting, and ſoon agreed, either to do or ſuffer ſomething great; for that the Time admitted no long Debate, ſince the leaſt Delay might prove fatal to them all. They determined, as the ſafeſt Way, to give *Commodus* a poiſonous Draught; and *Marcia* readily undertook the Taſk. For ſhe uſed to mix and adminiſter the firſt Cup to the Emperor, who thought it drank ſweeter from his Miſtreſs's Hands. Accordingly,

ly, ſhe infuſes Poiſon into a Bowl of fragrant Wine; and as ſoon as he came from the Bath, gives it into his Hand. He, in his accuſtomed amorous Manner, received the Bowl; and being very thirſty after his frequent Bathings, and cuſtomary hunting of Beaſts in the Gymnaſium, drinks it off without the leaſt Suſpicion. When preſently a Drowſineſs ſeized him, and having a great Inclination to Sleep, which he took for the Effect of his hard Exerciſe, he lay down to Reſt. *Electus* and *Marcia* ordered every body to withdraw, and go about their private Affairs, leſt they might by any Noiſe diſturb the Emperor's Repoſe. This created no Suſpicion, becauſe it was no more than *Commodus's* uſual Cuſtom, to fall aſleep after hard Drinking: For as he frequently uſed the Bath, and had ſeveral Meals in a Day, he kept no regular Hours for Sleep; but having devoted himſelf to numerous and various Scenes of Pleaſures, he was ſo much a Slave to them, that they often engaged his Attendance at their reſpective Seaſons, even againſt his Inclinations. For ſome time he reſted; but the Poiſon operating in his Stomach and Bowels, he was taken with a Dizzineſs; and a violent Vomiting enſued; whether from the Food and great Quantities of Drink he had taken, repelling the Poiſon, or from the Antidote he had made uſe of, as the Emperors always do, before they eat, by way of Preſervative againſt Attempts of that Nature. But as he vomited ſo plentifully, that they were afraid he would bring up all the Poiſon, and his Recovery prove their Deſtruction, they, by large Promiſes, prevail'd upon one *Narciſſus*, a young Man of great Spirit and Reſolution,

to enter the Emperor's Chamber and ſtrangle him. *Narciſſus* runs into the Room; and finding him lying in a languiſhing Poſture, ſick with the Poiſon, and drunk with the Liquor, he, without much Difficulty, grapps him by the Throat, and completes the Murther.

In this Manner ended the Life of *Commodus*, when he had reigned thirteen Years after his Father's Deceaſe. He was a Prince of the moſt noble Extraction of any of his Predeceſſors. In Form and Beauty he excelled all the Men of thoſe Times; and with regard to Courage, he ſeemed inferior to none, eſpecially in Shooting and manual Exerciſes, had he not contaminated all his Excellencies, by the flagitious Practices above deſcribed.

HERODIAN.

BOOK II.

COMMODUS being taken off in the Manner deſcribed in the former Book of our Hiſtory, the Authors of his Death, in order to conceal the Fact from the Guards on Duty at Court, wrap'd up the Body in an ordinary Blanket, and gave it to two of their truſty Domeſtics, to carry it out with ſeeming Careleſneſs, as ſome ſuperfluous Utenſil of the Bed-chamber. The Servants executed their Orders, and conveyed it ſafe through all the Guards; ſome of whom were in a drunken Sleep, others, though awake, yet were ſo exceeding drowſy, that they nodded againſt the Spears they held in their Hands; the reſt never troubled themſelves to examine the Bundle, as they took it for ſomething into which it concern'd not them to inſpect. Thus the Body of the Emperor was clandeſtinely carried out of the Court-gate; where, befriended by the Night, they put it upon a Vehicle, and ſent it to the *Ariſtæum*[a]. A.D.193.

[a] The *Ariſtæum* here mentioned was a Mauſoleum, or Monument, or (as our Author calls it in another Place) a Temple of the defunct Emperors. There were many of theſe magnificent Monuments built by ſeveral Emperors, but not in the City: For it was expreſsly forbidden in the

In the mean while *Lætus*, *Electus*, and *Marcia*, concerted together what was best to be done; and the Result was, to spread the Report of his Death; but to give out, that he was carried off by an apoplectic Fit: Which they judged would easily gain Credit, as none was a Stranger to his Intemperance and Gluttony. However, they thought it necessary, first to pitch upon some Man, advanced in Years, and of a sober honest Character, to succede him in the Empire; that so they might, by him, procure to themselves Impunity, and at the same time let the People respire from that oppressive Tyranny, under which they so long had groaned. No one occurred to their Minds fitter for this Purpose than *Pertinax*; who was by Birth an *Italian*, and in great Reputation for his good Behaviour in Affairs both Military and Civil. He had erected several Trophies, for Victories obtained over the *Germans*, and the Eastern Barbarians; had been Companion to the Emperor *Marcus*, and the General most honoured by him of all in the Army. He was the only one [b] *Commodus*

Roman Laws, to bury the Dead in the City; as they thought it both profane and unwholsome. *Commodus's* Corps was secretly conveyed to the Mausoleum of the Emperor *Adrian* at *Puteoli*, a City of *Campania*, on the Sea-coast, about ten Miles to the East of *Naples*. The People assembled in a tumultuous Body about the Palace, demanding his dead Body, that they might drag it about the Streets with an *Uncus*, or *Grapling*; but being told by *Pertinax*, that the Corps was interred, they were at last pacified, though with much Difficulty.

[b] To *Pertinax* we must add two more, *Victorinus* and *Pompeianus*. These three had not been murthered. *Dio* tells us, *Pompeianus* lived mostly in the Country, being afflicted with sore Eyes; but that he was present in the Senate-house when *Pertinax* was made Emperor; and that was the first and the last Time *Dio* ever saw him.

had

had left alive of all his Father's honeſt Friends; whether it was that he revered the old Man's Gravity or ſpared him becauſe he was poor: For it was no ſmall Addition to *Pertinax's* other Praiſes, that, though he had been truſted with greater Commands than any of the reſt, he was, notwithſtanding, the pooreſt Officer in the Army.

To this *Pertinax* then, *Lætus* and *Electus*, with a few others of their Party, went at Midnight, when the whole Houſe was aſleep; and finding the Door faſtened, they called up the Porter; who, having opened, and ſeen Soldiers ſtanding there, and *Lætus* with them, who he knew was the Prefect, runs, in the utmoſt Surprize and Fright, and tells his Maſter. *Pertinax* ordered them to be admitted, ſaying, the Evils he had long expected were now arrived. Nevertheleſs, he continued (they ſay) in that undiſturb'd Compoſure of Spirit, that he neither leap'd out of the Bed, but remain'd in the ſame Poſture; and when *Lætus* and *Electus* entred the Room, though he thought they were ſent to murther him, yet he had Preſence of Mind enough to accoſt them firſt, without the leaſt Sign of Fear or Dejection in his Countenance. *Lætus* and *Electus* go to *Pertinax's* Houſe.

"'Tis long ſince (ſays he) that I have expected every Night to meet with this End of my Life; for as I am the only one that am left of all his Father's Friends, I have often wondred at *Commodus's* Slowneſs to take me off. But why ſtand ye heſitating any longer? —Execute your Orders, and rid me at once of an anxious Life, full of gloomy Hope and continual Fear." Their Converſation.

To this *Lætus* replied: "Ceaſe to entertain "Suſpicions unworthy yourſelf and the Dignity of your former Life. The End of this "Viſit is not to accompliſh your Deſtruction, "but to procure the laſting Safety both of ourſelves and the whole *Roman* Empire. The "Tyrant is no more; he has ſuffered the due "Puniſhment of his Crimes; and that Fate he "had deſigned to inflict on us, we have, with "great Juſtice, transferred upon himſelf. We "come now to inveſt you with the Imperial "Sovereignty, well knowing, the Integrity of "your Life, the Greatneſs of your Authority, "and the ſacred Gravity of your Age, have "rendered you not only moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed among the Senate, but loved and "honoured by all the People: And we doubt "not but what we now do, will be as agreeable to their Wiſhes, as it is conducive to "our own Preſervation."

To all which *Pertinax* rejoined: "Rather "ceaſe you thus to mock and trifle with an "old Man, endeavouring to faſten on me the "Diſgrace of Cowardice, by firſt deceiving me "with Hopes of Empire, and afterwards per"petrating your intended Murther." But *Electus* return'd: "Since you diſbelieve our Words, "take this Book, and peruſe it. You are not "unacquainted with *Commodus's* Hand, as you "have frequently read Papers of his writing. "You will ſoon find what Danger we have eſ"caped, and how far we are from any Deſign "to deceive or tempt you." Upon which, *Pertinax* read the Liſt; and truſting to the Honour of the Men, formerly his Friends, he enquires into the Particulars of what had been done,

done, and then gives himſelf up to their Diſpoſal.

It was judged proper at firſt to go to the Army, and ſound the Inclinations of the Soldiers. Theſe *Lætus* undertook to bring over to their Party. For as he was their Prefect, it was natural to ſuppoſe they would pay him ſome Reſpect. Accordingly, taking with them the reſt who were preſent, they haſtened immediately to the Camp. For the Night being far advanced, and the enſuing Day the Feaſt of the New-Year, they reſolved to put their Scheme into practice before the Morning. They therefore diſpatched ſome of their Friends, whom they could truſt, to publiſh aloud, that *Commodus* was dead, and *Pertinax*, his appointed Succeſſor, was on his way to the Camp.

The People rejoice at the Death of *Commodus*.

The Report of which ſo tranſported the People, that they appeared like Enthuſiaſts or Madmen. They ran up and down the Streets in a Tumult of Joy, every one carrying the good News to his Friends and Relations; eſpecially ſuch as were inveſted with Power, or poſſeſſed of Riches; for theſe were never without Fear, that *Commodus* was plotting their Deſtruction. They ran likewiſe to the Temples and Altars of the Gods, to return Thanks, breaking out, as they went, into different Cries; ſome ſaying, *The Tyrant is dead*; ſome, *The Prize-fighter is gone*; and others uſed Terms of a more indecent Nature; all freely uttering now, what, before, the fear of Puniſhment made them ſuppreſs. But the greateſt Part of the People flew to the Camp, fearing the Soldiers might be backward in admitting *Pertinax* for their Emperor. For they were apprehenſive, that as he

was

was a Man of great Moderation, the Soldiers, who were accuſtomed to be the Tools of Tyranny, employed in Rapine and Extortion, would not be very fond of a Sovereign of ſo contrary a Diſpoſition. This made them flock thither in a Body, in order to force them to a Compliance in caſe of Refuſal. But when they were come to the Camp, *Lætus* and *Electus* entered, bringing *Pertinax* with them; and the Soldiers being aſſembled, *Lætus* ſpoke to this Effect.

Lætus's Speech to the Soldiers.

" *Commodus* our Emperor is dead of an Apo-
" plectic Fit. The Cauſe of this Death is juſt-
" ly imputable to himſelf alone. We were
" continually offering him good and wholſome
" Counſel; which he rejecting, and living in the
" Manner you all know, his repeated Exceſſes
" ſurcharged Nature, and neceſſarily hurried
" him to his deſtin'd Fate. For the *Means* of
" Death are not one and the ſame to all Men;
" but though the Ways are many and different,
" yet they all lead to that one certain End.
" To ſupply his Place, we, together with the
" *Roman* People, bring you a Man, whoſe
" Age is venerable, whoſe Life unblameable,
" and whoſe Military Abilities and Virtue
" need no Encomium; ſince the ancienter
" amongſt you have in the Field ſeen con-
" vincing Proofs enough of the former; and
" the reſt, during ſo many Years he has pre-
" ſided over the City, have had the latter not
" only in Honour but Admiration. In this
" Man, Fortune now gives you both a good
" Sovereign and a kind Father. His Reign
" ſhall bleſs, not only you, the immediate
" Guards of his Perſon; but thoſe likewiſe,

" who

" who are now poſted on the Banks of Rivers,
" and on the remoteſt Boundaries of the *Ro-*
" *man* Empire; who keep in Remembrance his
" well-tried Worth, ſo often conſpicuous in all
" his Actions. Nor ſhall we now any longer
" bribe the Barbarians into Obedience by Mo-
" ney: But when they ſhall reflect on what
" they have already felt from the *Romans*, led
" by ſuch a Prætor, their own Fear will be a
" Motive ſufficiently powerful to reduce them
" to Subjection."

While *Lætus* was ſpeaking in this Manner, and the Soldiers ſtood heſitating, and ſeem'd a little ſlow of Approbation; the People, unable to contain any longer, ſaluted *Pertinax* aloud by the Title of *Auguſtus*, called him their Father, and addreſſed him with every honourable Appellation. The Soldiers then, not with the ſame Alacrity, but becauſe they were beſet on every Side by the Multitude, and were but few in Number, and thoſe unarmed, as on a Day of univerſal Feſtivity, compelled by Neceſſity, ſeconded the Acclamations of the People, and ſaluted him *Auguſtus*: And having all taken the proper Oaths of Allegiance, and performed the uſual Ceremonies of Divine Service, the whole People and Soldiery, with Boughs of Laurel, attended him quite to the Imperial Court. *Pertinax* ſaluted *Auguſtus.*

When he came into the Palace, conducted thither (as we have before obſerved) in the Night-time, his Mind was oppreſſed with a Load of Cares; and though he was a Man of great Spirit and Fortitude, he was not without Fear, that this Revolution might be attended with unhappy Conſequents: Not through any Preſages

Preſages of Evils which might befal himſelf (for he had often faced and deſpiſed Dangers far greater than the preſent) but he could not help reflecting on the ſudden Change in the Empire, and the Pride of ſeveral Senators of the moſt illuſtrious Families; who, he ſuſpected, would never agree, that the Imperial Sovereignty ſhould fall, from a Prince ſo nobly deſcended, to a Perſon of a private and low Extraction. For though the Integrity of his Life ſpake highly in his Favour, and his Actions in his military Capacity were great and glorious, yet in point of Birth he came very ſhort of the Patricians.

A.D.194. As ſoon as it was Day, therefore, he went to the Senate-houſe; but would not ſuffer the Fire to be carried before him, nor other Symbols of Royalty to be raiſed or diſplayed, till he had learned the Diſpoſition of the Senate. Immediately on his Appearance the Senators, with great Unanimity, paid him all the Tokens of Reſpect and Homage, ſaluting him *Auguſtus*, and Emperor. At firſt he deſired to be excuſed from undertaking the invidious Burden of Empire, pleading his great Age; and at the ſame Time alledging, there were many Patricians whoſe illuſtrious Lineage rendered them fitter Perſons to be inveſted with the Imperial Purple: And preſently taking *Glabrio* by the Hand, he led him forth, and ordered him to be ſeated on the Imperial Throne. This Man was by Birth the nobleſt of all the Patricians; for he carried his Pedigree quite up to *Æneas*, the Son of *Venus* and *Anchiſes*; and had, beſides, been twice Conſul. But he declined the Honour, by ſaying to *Pertinax*, "I myſelf, whom you "eſteem the moſt worthy, freely reſign the

"Dignity

"Dignity to you; and, with the concurrent "Suffrages of all the reſt, commit the Imperial "Power into your Hands." Upon which, the whole Senate, with repeated Importunities, and a kind of reſpectful Violence, prevailed upon him, not without much Reluctance, to aſcend the Throne; whence, as ſoon as he was ſeated, he delivered himſelf to them in this Manner.

The Speech of *Pertinax* to the Senate.

"The obliging Addreſs, and unexampled "Zeal, with which you have ſo unanimouſly "conſented to inveſt me in this high Honour, "in preference to your own Advantages of "Birth, as they cut off all Suſpicion of Flat-"tery, and are ſo many indiſputable Argu-"ments of your good Affection, would in any "other Man excite Courage and Ardour to ac-"cept the great Power conferred; and make "him hope, he with Eaſe might happily diſ-"charge the important Truſt of Government "amongſt Subjects ſo kindly prepoſſeſs'd in his "Favour. But to me, the Conſiderations of "this great, this extraordinary Honour, come "attended with all the Weight of Confuſion "and Aſtoniſhment; and fail not at the ſame "Time to beget no ſmall Fear and Sollicitude. "For where great Benefits have preceded, it is "very difficult to make a ſuitable Acknowledg-"ment; becauſe, in Matters of Requital, if "they who have received but little, over-pay "the Kindneſs, their Liberality is eſteem'd, not "as an eaſy Effect of their large Power, but as "an Inſtance of their grateful Diſpoſition: On "the contrary, where Favours of a ſuperlative "Nature have been previouſly conferred, if the "Party obliged fall ſhort in his Returns, the "Narrowneſs of his Circumſtances is not con-

"ſidered;

" ſidered; but his want of Ability is mistaken
" for Ingratitude. I am therefore ſenſible how
" arduous a Taſk I have before me; to ſhew
" myſelf worthy the Honour you have given
" me; ſince true Dignity conſiſts not in the
" being veſted with Authority, but in uſing
" in ſuch a Manner as not to diſgrace it: And
" by how much the former Meaſures have been
" more flagrantly evil, by ſo much are Mens
" Expectations more incited to find themſelves
" bettered in the next Succeſſor. Beſides, In-
" juries are always longeſt remembred (for what
" has hurted us, makes a laſting Impreſſion) but
" the Memory of good Offices generally periſh
" with the Enjoyment. Liberty is not ſo de-
" lightful, as Slavery painful. Nor does he,
" that has the free Enjoyment of his Fortunes
" ſecured to him, reckon himſelf much ob-
" liged to the Protector, who, he thinks, gives
" him nothing but what is his own: But, on
" the contrary, if any one be deprived of his
" Property, he entertains an everlaſting Reſent-
" ment againſt the Offender. Nor is the
" greateſt Advantage, procured to the whole
" Community, eſteemed any Profit by parti-
" cular Perſons; becauſe the general Good is
" but little regarded by Individuals: But who-
" ever meets with Impediments in his own Ex-
" pectations, immediately is apt to conclude,
" that he is quit of all Obligations, and wholly
" unconcerned in the Proſperity of the Public.
" Add to all this, that they who have been ac-
" cuſtomed to a luxurious and expenſive Courſe
" of Life, ſupported by the extravagant im-
" menſe Largeſſes of Tyrants, if, compelled by
" ſcanty Circumſtances, you attempt to reduce
" them

"their to a more moderate Way of Living, "will not call this unpleaſing Alterative, "ſober and prudent Oeconomy; but rather "defame it by the odious Names of Meanneſs "and wretched Parſimony; never conſidering, "that all profuſe injudicious Donations muſt "neceſſarily be ſupplied by Extortion and Ra-"pine; and, on the other hand, he that wiſely "diſpenſes to every one according to his Me-"rit, without invading the legal Property of "another, by not gratifying any Man's unrea-"ſonable Cravings after enormous Heaps of "ill-gotten Wealth, teaches all the uſeful Leſ-"ſons of Sobriety and Frugality. As theſe are "Truths to which you are all no Strangers, it "greatly behoves you to aſſiſt me with your "joint Endeavours, eſteeming the Adminiſtra-"tion of the Government a Charge common to "yourſelves, with me; and by making your "own good Hopes conſpicuous to the People, "confirm them in theirs, that they are to be "governed by the Counſels of the Wiſe and "Noble, and not oppreſſed by the deſpotic "Power of a Tyrant."

This Speech of *Pertinax* was highly pleaſing to the Senate; who expreſſed their Satisfaction in the moſt affecting Acclamations [c], and paid

[c] As there is ſomething remarkable in the uſual Acclamations of the *Romans* to their Emperors, I ſhall preſent the Reader with a few of them made by the Senate to *Pertinax*; that by the Form of theſe he may judge of the reſt. *Hoſti patriæ honores detrahantur. Parricidæ honores detrahantur. Parricida trahatur. Hoſtis patriæ, parricida, gladiator in ſpoliario lanietur. Hoſtis Deorum, hoſtis Senatus.*—*Ut ſalvi ſimus*, Jupiter *opt. max. ſerva nobis* Pertinacem.—*Exercitibus* Romanis *feliciter. Pietati Senatus feliciter.*—*Exaudi*, Cæſar. *Delatores ad leonem. Exaudi*, Cæſar.

him all the Tokens of Honour and Reverence. He was then conducted, firſt to the Temple of *Jupiter*, and afterwards to thoſe of the other Gods; where having finiſhed the cuſtomary Imperial Sacrifices, he returned to the Palace.

Nor was it long, e'er the Fame of what he had ſaid in the Senate-houſe, and his written Orations to the People, were diſperſed abroad,

Cæſar.—*O nos felices te viro imperante*, &c. — *Down with the Honours of the Enemy of his Country* [meaning *Commodus*] *Down with the Honours of the Parricide. Drag the Parricide. Let the Enemy of his Country, the Parricide, the Gladiator, be torn to pieces in the Stripping-hole* [a Hole in the *Arena*, where the dead Prize-fighters were ſtowed.] *The Enemy of the Gods, the Enemy of the Senate.—That we may be ſafe, O good, great* Jupiter, *preſerve to us* Pertinax.—*Good Luck to the* Roman *Armies. Good luck to the Piety of the Senate.—Hear, O* Cæſar. *The Informers to the Lion. Hear, O* Cæſar. *O happy us with ſuch a Man, as you, our Emperor!* &c.

Lampridius gives us theſe Forms from *Marius Maximus*, who took them out of the Acts of the Senate; and *Dio* confirms them as authentic; who himſelf was preſent in the Senate-houſe, and joined with his Brother-Senators in the Acclamations.

Theſe Acclamations were not uttered at random, but chanted in a ſort of noiſy Tune, and from a ſet Form. One of the Senators pitch'd the Tune, and the reſt followed, repeating the ſame Words ſeveral times, like the Chorus of a merry Song. And therefore *Pliny* the younger calls them *Cantica*. I find frequent mention of them made by the Writers of the *Auguſta Hiſtoria*; who are minute enough to ſet down, how many Times each Form was repeated. The Cuſtom continued down to the Times of the *Chriſtian* Emperors, not only in the State, but the Church alſo. Thus we read, that when St. *Auſtin*, the *African* Biſhop, nominated *Eradius* for his Succeſſor, theſe Acclamations followed: *Deo gratias.* Chriſto *laudes. Exaudi*, Chriſte. Auguſtino *vitam. Te patrem; te epiſcopum. Thanks to God. Praiſes to* Chriſt: This was ſaid thirteen Times. *Hear, O* Chriſt; *Life to* Auſtin: Repeated ſixteen Times. *Thee, our Father; thee, our Biſhop:* Said eighteen Times.

to

to the inexpreſſible Joy of the whole Empire; who all hoped to find in him, not a King, but a juſt and clement Governor, a Father of his People. For he ordered the Soldiers to leave off all Inſults to the Commonalty, nor even to ſtrike any one as he paſſed; and endeavoured to reſtore Things to their former Decency and good Order. In his Proceſſions and public Diſpenſations of Juſtice, he ſhewed a moderate, humane, and merciful Diſpoſition; and by ſtudiouſly imitating the Virtues of *Marcus*, delighted the Elder with the Revival of that good Prince's Memory; and eaſily gained the Love and Eſteem of all the reſt, by recovering them from a State of Miſery under the moſt cruel and contumelious Tyranny, to a regular, ſecure, and happy Life. The Fame of his mild Government ſoon diffuſing itſelf abroad, all the Nations and Armies within either the Dominion or Alliance of the *Romans*, look'd on him as a Prince endued with Divine Power. Even the Barbarians, who had thrown off the Reins of Subjection, and were creating Diſturbances, repreſſed by Fear, and awed at the Remembrance of his Virtues, ſo eminently conſpicuous in the former Wars, and at the ſame time crediting the Report of his Integrity, that he never willingly injured any, but rewarded every one according to his Merit, free from an unbecoming Partiality, and averſe to Violence and Rigor, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to his Authority. And Ambaſſadors were ſent from all Parts, to congratulate the *Romans* on their being bleſſed with ſuch a Sovereign.

But while all rejoiced, both publickly and privately, in his mild and prudent Government,

the very Prospect that gave so much Pleasure to all the World besides, was the Cause of great Dissatisfaction to the Soldiers at *Rome*, who used to guard the Emperor's Person. For being now restrain'd from Rapine and Insolence, and recall'd to good Order and Decorum, they thought themselves disgraced by this mild equitable Government; and as it curb'd their Licentiousness, they resolved not to bear it. At first they only behaved themselves tardy and disobedient to what was commanded; but soon after, e'er *Pertinax* had completed full two Months [d] of his Reign (in which little Space he had shewn so many good and generous Actions, that his Subjects conceived great Hopes of Happiness) evil Fortune infascinated and subverted all, and hindred him from effecting his admirable Designs, so plainly calculated for the Good of his People.

Pertinax's good Government.

For, first, he ordered, that the Land in *Italy* and other Parts, that lay unmanured and idle, even though it belonged to the Crown [e],

[d] *Eusebius*, by a gross Mistake, makes him reign six Months; whereas *Dio*, who, as well as our Author, was then living, says, his whole Reign was but eighty-seven Days. *Capitolinus* makes it two Months, twenty-five Days; and *Eutropius* eighty Days: All far short of six Months.

[e] The Reader must not imagine this modern Phrase to be a literal Translation; for Crowns are not mentioned in the ordinary *Regalia* of the *Roman* Emperors. They were bestowed on Great Men at *Rome*, in Consideration of some signal Services, and had Epithets significative of the several Merits for which they were conferr'd; as a *Civil Crown*, given to him that had saved the Life of a *Citizen* in War; a *Mural Crown*, to him that first scaled the *Walls* of the Enemy's Town, *&c.* *Julius Cæsar*, indeed, obtained Leave from the Senate to wear a perpetual Coronet of Laurel; but his Successors either wore it or rejected it occasionally.

should be given to all who would undertake to cultivate and improve it, according to every one's Ability; and enacted, that the Occupiers and Improvers should be sole Proprietors. He granted to all Husbandmen, Exemption from Taxes for ten Years, and perpetual Immunity from all kinds of Servitude. He refused to have any of the Imperial Revenues and Estates go under his Name; for he said they were not the Property of the Sovereign, but the common and public Inheritance of the *Roman* Empire. All the Imposts and Customs, on the Sides of Rivers, in the Ports of the City, or the common Passages and Highways, which had been invented only to gratify the Avarice of Tyrants, he took off; and restored the Places to their pristine Freedom. The whole Tenor of his Actions sufficiently demonstrated, that his sole Delight was to promote the Good of his Subjects, and that he intended to carry on that Reformation he had so well begun: For he banished all Informers[f] from the City, and com-

casionally. The chief Symbol of Imperial Dignity was a purple Robe; but the Diadem, or Regal Crown, was not in Use among the *Romans* till the Time of *Justinian* the Emperor, above five hundred Years after *Christ*. Though we are told by *Suetonius*, that *Caligula* was very near taking the Diadem, and reducing the *Roman* State into the Form of a Kingdom.

[f] As there is frequent mention of *Informers* in the Writings of the *Romans*, it may not be improper to give the *English* Reader a short Account of them. They were a Set of mischievous Creatures, call'd by the *Romans*, *Delatores*; who, under the Direction of Head-Informers styled *Mandatores*, insinuated themselves into the Companies and Assemblies of the Nobility, Gentry, and others; and having taken Notice of all that was said or done, gave Information of every the least Word or Circumstance tending

manded them to be puniſhed where-for they were taken, thereby guarding againſt any Danger that might accrue to the Lives or Properties of the People by falſe or invidious Accuſations; which gave the Senate eſpecially, and all the reſt, the moſt promiſing Expectations of ſpending their Lives in Security and Happineſs. As a Proof of his Moderation, and how little he loved to value himſelf above others, he never brought his Son, who was a young Lad, into the Imperial Palace, but kept him at his own private Houſe, and ſent him to the public Schools, and other Gymnaſtic Colleges, amongſt other Children; and made him go through the ſame Leſſons and Exerciſes as private Boys, without the leaſt Indulgence or Partiality; nor would have him at all diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by any regal Dreſs or pompous Equipage.

The Soldiers riſe againſt *Pertinax*, and murther him.

While, by theſe ſound Principles, he governed both himſelf and his People, the Guards alone were offended at his Conduct; and longing again for thoſe Ravages and Violences they had practiſed under the former Reign, at ſome of their drunken Revels they agreed to cut him off, as a heavy Clog to their vicious Courſes,

to Diſaffection to the Emperor. The Perſons informed againſt were generally condemned on their Evidence, and either put to Death, or baniſhed. This Gang was ſo deſervedly odious to the People, that the beſt and greateſt Reformation they requeſted from good Emperors, was to rid them immediately of theſe pernicious Peſts of Society. The Reward given to certain Informers for their Informations, not only under the Emperors, but in the Times of the Republic alſo, was commonly a Fourth Part of the Fortunes of the Condemned; whence they obtained the Title of *Quadruplatores*.

and

and ſet up in his room one that would maintain them in their Licentiouſneſs with Impunity. Accordingly, when none ſuſpected an Attempt of this nature, but the whole City was in the utmoſt Tranquillity, with a turbulent fiery Spirit they iſſued out of their Camp, and ran in a tumultuous Manner, till they came to the Palace about Noon; which they entred, preſenting their Spears, and brandiſhing their Swords, with all the Marks of military Outrage. The Officers and Servants of the Emperor, ſhock'd at this ſudden unexpected Riot, were incapable of making any Reſiſtance; but, being few and unarmed, againſt an armed ſeditious Multitude, left their ſeveral Poſts in the Avenues and Apartments of the Court, and fled with Precipitation: Only a few of his Friends ran in to *Pertinax*, and, acquainting him of the Mutiny, adviſed him to fly, and put himſelf on the People for Protection. But he could not be prevail'd upon to take their Counſel, thinking it, though uſeful for the preſent, yet mean and unbecoming the Imperial Dignity and the Character of his paſt Life and Actions; therefore abſolutely refuſed either to fly or hide himſelf. He judged it moſt adviſable, in this dangerous Criſis, to go out and ſpeak to them, hoping he might appeaſe their wild unreaſonable Rage for the preſent. Accordingly, he came out of his Apartment, and went up to them, with Intent to learn the Cauſe of their preſent Commotion; and endeavoured, with great Calmneſs and Preſence of Mind, to reduce them to Reaſon. For he appeared neither irritated, nor ſhocked at the Danger; but, without cringing, or ſupplicating, or acting any

thing beneath the Authority of a Sovereign;

His Speech to them.

"To have (ſays he) my Life thus violently "taken from me, is no very great nor heavy "Loſs to an old Man, who has arrived at this "advanced Period with Reputation and Ho-"nour; ſince Death is the common Condition "of Humanity, which, ſooner or later, every "one muſt undergo. But that you, the re-"puted Guards and Defenders of your Sove-"reign, whoſe Duty it is to repel all Dangers "offered him from others, ſhould yourſelves "become his Murtherers, and ſtain your Swords "with the Blood, not only of your Country-"man, but your Prince; conſider whether this "may not hereafter prove as dangerous to you, "as it is now impious. For I am not conſcious "to myſelf of having afforded you the leaſt "Ground for Reſentment. If it be the Loſs "of *Commodus* that you bear ſo hardly, you "would do well to reflect, he was a Man; con-"ſequently his Death can be no matter of Sur-"prize. But if you think he was taken off by "Treachery, this Imputation ſtill affects not "me; who, as you well know, was too far "from the Court to be within the reach even "of Suſpicion, and as ignorant of what was "there tranſacted, as you yourſelves: So that "if you ſuſpect Treaſon, you ſhould charge it "on thoſe at leaſt who may poſſibly be guilty. "But ſince his Deceaſe, you have been always "ſupported in your juſt Privileges, and ſup-"plied with every thing you could reaſonably "expect, without my having recourſe to Vio-"lence or Injuſtice."—While he reaſon'd with them after this Manner, ſome began to relent, and a great many turned away and retired,

aw'd

ſaw'd at the grave Majeſty of ſo venerable an Emperor. But ſome of the reſt ruſh'd upon the good old Man in the midſt of his Speech, and murthered him. When the horrid Deed was done, the Soldiers, well knowing how diſpleaſing the News would be to the People, and thinking it beſt to prevent any bad Conſequences of their juſt Reſentment, retired to their Camp; where they kept themſelves within the Walls, and placed ſufficient Guards in the Towers, to repel any Attack might be made by the People. This was the Manner of *Pertinax's* Death; whoſe Life and Morals were, as we have before deſcribed.

When the News of the Emperor's Aſſaſſination reached the Ears of the People, they were ſeized with the utmoſt Confuſion and Sorrow. They ran up and down like Perſons diſtracted, in wild Diſorder, ſeeking for the Murtherers; and what added to their Rage was, that they could neither find nor puniſh them. But the Members of the Senate were moſt deeply affected with the common Calamity; they mourn'd in him the Loſs of a kind Father and indulgent Prince; and had dreadful Preſages of Tyranny to enſue; ſince they found, the Soldiers in that placed their chief Intereſt. When a Day or two had paſſed, the Populace, each out of fear for himſelf and Family, diſperſed quietly to their Houſes; and thoſe who were in public Authority retired to their Villa's and Eſtates, as far diſtant as they could from the City, to avoid any Miſchief which might befal them at the new Election.

The Soldiers, when they found the People was quiet, and that none attempted to revenge the

The Empire ſet to Sale.

the Blood of the Emperor, kept themſelves ſtill in their Encampments; but ſent out ſome of the ſtrongeſt Lungs and loudeſt Voices upon the Works, to cry, that the Empire was to be ſet to Sale, and conſign'd to the higheſt Bidder; and that they would conduct the Purchaſer ſafe into the Imperial Palace. When this ſtrange Proclamation was ſpread, the honeſter and more ſteady Members of the Senate, and they of the beſt Quality and Fortunes (the ſmall Remains of *Commodus's* Tyranny) neither went near the Walls, nor gave the leaſt Countenance to the diſhonourable and ſcandalous Step, of trafficking for the Government of their Country.

But the Proclamation of the Soldiers was told to one *Julian* (a Man of Conſular Rank, and thought exceſſively rich) while he was at Supper in the Evening, debauching and carouſing; for he had the Character of a very intemperate Liver. His Wife and Daughters, with his whole Herd of Paraſites, perſuaded him to leave the Table, and fly directly to the Camp, to learn the Truth of the Story; and all the way they prompted him to lay hold on the proſtituted Empire; for that he had Money enough to out-bid any that ſhould put in with him for the Purchaſe. When they came near the Wall, he bawl'd out, that he would give whatever they aſked; that he had wherewithal to ſatisfy their Demands, being poſſeſſed of immenſe Treaſures of Gold and Silver.

Sulpitian bids for the Empire, but is refuſed.

About the ſame Time, one *Sulpitian*, who was likewiſe of Conſular Dignity, and preſided over the City, whoſe Daughter *Pertinax* had married, came up to bid for the Empire: But the Soldiers did not like him for a Chapman,

on account of his near Affinity to *Pertinax*; fearing that this was only a Device to get the Power into his Hands, and then to revenge the Murther of his Son-in-law.

Having let down a Ladder, they received *Julian* upon the Walls; not chuſing to open the Gates, till they had heard what Price he would offer. When he came up, he promiſed to vindicate the Memory of *Commodus*, to renew all the Honours, and re-erect the Statues the Senate had thrown down; to reſtore them all the Privileges they had in his Reign; and to give every Soldier a Sum of Money [g], above what they could demand or even hope; and that the Payment ſhould not be put off from Time to Time, but he would ſend immediately Home for the ready Money. The Soldiers, won by theſe Promiſes, and raiſed into high Expectations, ſaluted *Julian* Emperor, and honoured him with the additional Name of *Commodus*. They then diſplayed their Standards, on which they had fixed the Images [h] of *Julian*, and got every thing ready to attend him to the Court. A.D. 194. *Julian* buys the Imperial Dignity.

[g] He promiſed every Soldier (according to *Dio*) 6250 *Drachms*, of our Money above 195 *l.*

[h] The Enſigns and Standards of the ancient *Romans*, were not Flags or Banners, as now in Uſe, but Effigies of certain Animals, made of Gold or Silver, and faſtened on the Top of a Spear. The principal Standard of a *Roman* Legion was an *Eagle* with a Thunderbolt in his Talons: This was aſſumed by *Caius Marius* in the *Cimbric* War; and after him the *Eagle* alone came to be the *Roman* Standard, which at firſt was only a *Manipulus fœni*, *Wiſp of Hay*, ſtuck on a Pole, as we are told by *Plutarch* (in *Romulo*) whence came the Term of *Maniples* in the *Roman* Army. Before the Time of *Marius*, *Wolves*, *Minotaurs*, *Horſes*, and *Boars*, were Standards. But *Dio* aſſures us,

Julian was not backward in haſtening all the Ceremonies and Sacrifices proper for his Inauguration in the Camp; after which he was conducted forth by a far greater Number of Guards than uſual: For as he had bought the Imperial Power of the Soldiery, contrary to the Sentiments of the People, who deteſted their baſe and ſhameful Venality, he expected to meet with great Oppoſition. But the Soldiers, full armed, and drawn up into cloſe Battalia, with the new Emperor of their own making in the Center, marching in Order of Battle, and holding their Shields and Spears over their Heads, for

us, lib. xl. that the Standard-Eagle was not only the Image of that Bird, but the Figure of a little Temple or Shrine in which the ſacred golden Eagle was placed. Which ſeems to be confirmed by *Cicero*, in *Cat.* i. and more clearly by *Tacitus*, Annal. lib. xv. And though we frequently read of *Vexilla*, *Flags*, or *Banners*, in ancient Authors, 'tis plain from ſeveral Paſſages of *Livy*, and *Tacitus* (particularly in the Third Book of his Hiſtories) that they were the ordinary Colours of the Auxiliary Forces; and only of ſmall Diviſions of the Legionary Soldiers. In the Times of the Emperors, the Names of the Sovereigns were inſcribed on theſe Banners. So *Suetonius* (*Veſpaſ.* c. vi.) informs us, that at the Election of a new Emperor to ſuccede *Vitellius*, ſome Soldiers of the Third Legion, who had been ſent out of *Syria* into *Mœſia*, cried up *Veſpaſian* as the moſt worthy, which was agreed to by all preſent, and his Name was immediately written on their Banners. But the Badges or Arms of each Prince's Family were infixed on the Standards and Banners alſo; and were called his Honours and Images. Theſe the Soldiers worſhipped, and ſware by; and to theſe, Kings and Rulers of foreign Nations were often obliged to pay Adoration.

'Tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, *Julian* took care to bring his own Arms with him into the Camp, well knowing, one of the firſt Honours done by the Soldiery to their new Emperors, was to take down the Images of the late Sovereign, and ſet up thoſe of his Succeſſor in their Stead.

fear

fear any Stones or Weapons thrown from the Tops of Houſes might diſturb the Proceſſion, in this manner attended him to the Imperial Palace, the People neither making any Reſiſtance, nor receiving him with the uſual Acclamations, but only following him at a Diſtance with Invectives and Imprecations, as one who had debaſed the Dignity of the Empire, by bargaining for it with Money, as a common vendible Commodity.

This Step firſt corrupted the Morals of the Soldiers, taught them to indulge an inſatiate and ſhameful Greedineſs after Money, and inſtilled into them an utter Contempt of the Majeſty of their Sovereigns. For no one daring to call them to an Account for the barbarous Murther of the beſt of Princes, or give a Check to their egregious Inſolence, in crying, expoſing, and ſelling the Imperial Dignity, this Impunity was the Cauſe and Spring of that Licentiouſneſs, Diſobedience, Avarice, and Contempt of Authority, which every day increaſed, till they imbrued their Hands in the Blood of their Sovereigns.

Julian had no ſooner got Poſſeſſion of the Empire but he buried himſelf in Senſuality, taking no Concern about public Affairs, but devoting his whole Time to Luxury and Sloth. The Soldiers found his Performances fall infinitely ſhort of what he promiſed: For he had not the prodigious Quantity of Money at home he boaſted; nor could the public Treaſuries ſupply him, as they had been long before exhauſted by the mad Extravagancies of *Commodus*. This exaſperated the Soldiery; who finding themſelves cheated of their Hopes, reſented the Affront;

Julian is deſpiſed, and *Nigey* cried up.

Affront; and the People, taking Advantage of their Diſappointment, held him in ſuch Contempt, that they inſulted him as he paſs'd, in very opprobrious Language, and ſcoffingly upbraided him with his beſtial obſcene Practices: And in the open *Circus*[1], where a great Multitude of Spectators were aſſembled, they often railed at *Julian*; and at the ſame time called *Niger*, *Vindicator of the Empire of the* Romans, and *Guardian of the Sovereign Power*, wiſhing he might ſoon return, to redreſs the Grievances under which they laboured. *Niger* had formerly been Conſul; but during theſe Tranſactions at *Rome*, was Governor of all *Syria*, a very large and powerful Province, as it comprehended the Government of all the *Phœnicians*, and the whole Country quite to the River *Euphrates*; he was pretty well advanced in Years; had often ſignalized his Valour; and had the Character of a Man of much Moderation and great Abilities, and one that formed his Life after *Pertinax's* Example. This made the *Romans* entertain a very high Opinion of his Worth. They were perpetually mentioning him at all their public Meetings; and as they inveigh'd againſt *Julian*, who was preſent, ſo they honour'd *Niger* with all the Titles of Sovereignty in his Abſence. *Niger*, being informed of the Sentiments of the

[1] The *Circus* was a large oblong Building, deſtined for the Celebration of public Games. There were ſeveral of them at *Rome* (ſome Authors ſay, ten in all) of which the principal was the *Circus maximus, greateſt Cirque*, environed with a Wall and Portico's, with Ranges of Seats ſo numerous, that, if *Pliny* may be credited, 260,000 Spectators might conveniently ſit and ſee the Races and other Exerciſes. It was firſt built by *Tarquinius Priſcus*.

People,

People, and their perpetual Clamours at all their Meetings, concluding, naturally enough, it would be no difficult matter to compaſs his Deſigns; eſpecially as *Julian* was but little regarded by the Soldiers about him, on account of his failing to fulfil his Promiſes; and deſpiſed by the People, as one unworthy the Power he had bought; gave himſelf up to the pleaſing Hopes of obtaining the Imperial Purple. At firſt then, ſending ſeveral Generals, Tribunes, and ſome Soldiers of the beſt Characters, one after another, to their reſpective Homes in thoſe Countries, he diſcourſed with them before they ſet out, and told them what Accounts he had received from *Rome*; that ſo they might ſpread the Report among the Soldiers and other Inhabitants of the Eaſt; who, he thought, would be the ſooner perſuaded to come into his Intereſt, if they were informed, that he was not contriving to ſet himſelf at the Head of the Empire, by any clandeſtine, treaſonable Practices, but that he was invited by the *Romans*, and even intreated to come to their Aſſiſtance.

This Policy had the deſired Effect; they came flocking to him from all Parts, and pray'd him to take the Government into his Hands. For the *Syrians* are a light mutable People, very proper Tools for Innovation; and had, beſides, a great Reſpect for *Niger*, who had behaved with much Moderation to them all, and often came to their public Diverſions at Feſtivals. Of theſe the *Syrians* are exceſſively fond, particularly the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, a great and flouriſhing City, who celebrate Feaſts almoſt all the Year, both in the City and Suburban Villages. It was no Wonder then, *Niger*, by preſenting

The Character of the *Syrians*.

ſenting them with ſeveral public Shews (a Generoſity well adapted to their Humour) and giving them Time for frequent Holy-days and Merry-makings, had made himſelf ſo univerſally reſpected by them. This he well knew; and having diſpatched Orders for the Soldiers from all Parts to come to him at a Day appointed, and the reſt of the People being aſſembled, he aſcends a Roſtrum, raiſed for the Occaſion, and ſpake to them in Terms to this Purport.

Niger's Speech. "With what Moderation I have always conducted my Sentiments, and that I never entred on any great Undertaking, but after the moſt wary Deliberation, are Points, I preſume, too well known to you, to ſtand in need of any Declaration. Nor would I have treated with you now in this public Manner, had I been only prompted by my own private Intereſt, or puffed up with a fond irrational Hope, or hurried on by a blind and raſh Ambition, beyond any viſible probability of Succeſs. But the *Roman* People publickly invoke my Aſſiſtance; they importune me with repeated Cries, they preſs me in the moſt moving Terms, to ſuccour their Diſtreſs; and not to ſee, without Concern, that glorious, that flouriſhing Empire, purchaſed by the Blood of their Anceſtors, ſo ſhamefully ſunk into Diſhonour and Contempt. And though to attempt an Enterprize of ſo adventurous a Nature, without good Reaſon and a fair Occaſion, might juſtly be cenſured as a preſumptuous Temerity; yet to be deaf to the Cries, and unmoved at the Prayers of one's Country, is the Part of a Coward,

" Coward, a Parricide, a Traytor. I have there-
" fore ſummoned you together, to hear in your
" Advice, what is beſt to be done in this preſ-
" ſing Conjuncture; and to ſhare with you all
" my Counſels and Deſigns; the good Succeſs
" of which will procure our common and equal
" Utility. 'Tis no mean Motive, no light pre-
" carious Hope, that invites us; but 'tis the
" People of *Rome*, to whom the Gods have
" given the Government of Nations, and the
" Dominion of the whole World; 'tis this great
" Empire, now ſhaking, tottering, ſinking,
" without any certain Foundation. We have
" therefore the ſtrongeſt Reaſons to expect Suc-
" ceſs, as we are encouraged by the Invitation
" of the People; and ſhall find (if any) but
" a very weak Oppoſition: For I have certain
" Information, that the very Soldiers who ſold
" him the Power, are now unwilling to protect
" him in it, becauſe he has fail'd in his Part
" of the Compact. Weigh then the Caſe, and
" let me know your Sentiments."

As ſoon as he had finiſhed, all the Soldiery, and the reſt of the Multitude preſent, declared him Emperor, and ſaluted him *Auguſtus*; and having array'd him in the Imperial Purple, and all the other Badges of Sovereign Power which the Place and Time afforded, carrying the Fire before him in public Proceſſion, they conducted him firſt into the Temples of *Antioch*, and afterwards attended him to his own Houſe; which they now no longer look'd on as a private Manſion, but a Prince's Court; and accordingly diſplayed before it all the Symbols of Royal Honour. *Niger* declared Emperor.

Niger

Niger was exceedingly pleaſed with all this; every thing ſeemed to concur in his Favour; the good Wiſhes of the *Romans* at home, and the ardent Zeal of all about him; ſo that he imagined himſelf fixed ſecure enough in the Empire. For the Report flying ſwiftly about, the Nations inhabiting the Continent oppoſite to *Europe*, with great Alacrity came flocking to do him Homage. Embaſſies arrived from every Quarter, at *Antioch*, to own him Emperor; and Kings and Deputies beyond the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſent to congratulate him, and promiſed their Aſſiſtance if it ſhould be needful. All theſe he magnificently requited with valuable Preſents, returned them Thanks for their good Affection and voluntary Offers; but told them withal, he had no need at preſent of Auxiliaries; for that his Power was ſufficiently ſecure, and he intended to rule without Blood. Elate with theſe pleaſing Appearances, he became ſupine and negligent, indulging himſelf in Pleaſures, and making merry with the People of *Antioch* at all their Feaſts and Paſtimes; forgetting (what was of moſt Importance) how neceſſary his Preſence was at *Rome*. Nay, ſo ſtrange was his Infatuation, that he never viſited the Forces in *Pannonia* and *Illyrium*, to bring them into his Intereſt (which ſhould have been the next Step taken) or ſo much as acquainted them with any thing that was done; fondly ſuppoſing, that as ſoon as the News ſhould reach them, the Soldiers in thoſe Parts would readily accede to the Wiſhes of the *Romans*, and the Sentiments of all the Eaſtern Nations.

While

While *Niger* was thus chalking out fine Schemes of Proſperity, and feeding himſelf with light uncertain Hopes, the Report of what had been tranſacted in *Syria* came to the *Pannonians* and *Illyrians*, and the Armies which were encamped on the Banks of the *Danube* and *Rhine*, to maintain the Borders of the *Roman* Empire againſt the Incurſions of the Barbarians. Theſe were all commanded by *Severus*, who was by Birth a *Libyan*, a Man of great Abilities and Aſſiduity, of a fiery enterprizing Spirit, inured to Toil and Hardſhips, ready to encounter any Difficulty, quick in Contrivance, and vigorous in Execution. This Man, therefore, liſtening to the Reports which were brought him, how the *Roman* Empire hung, as it were, in the Air, for any one that had Courage enough to lay hold on it, conceived great Deſire of putting in for the Prize, from the Unworthineſs of the other two Candidates; one of whom he deſpiſed, as indolent; the other, as deficient: And what added not a little to his Encouragement, was the Remembrance of ſeveral Dreams, Oracles, and other Prognoſtications, which ſeemed to foretel his future Grandeur [k]. For all theſe

Severus entertains Hopes of the Imperial Dignity.

[k] The principal Omens and Dreams predicting the future Grandeur of *Severus* are the following.

Upon his firſt Arrival at *Rome*, his Hoſt entertained him immediately with reading to him the Life of the Emperor *Adrian*.

The Day on which he was made a Senator by *Marcus*, he came in the Evening to ſup with the Emperor; but being unprovided with a Senatorian Gown, *Marcus* very complaiſantly array'd him in his own Imperial Robe.

The ſame Evening he ſat down in the Emperor's Chair, through the Miſtake of the Servant, and his own Ignorance of its being unlawful.

kinds of Omens are then believed, when the Event of Affairs ſeems to verify their Predictions. Moſt of theſe are ſince publiſh'd by himſelf in the Hiſtory of his Life, and repreſented in Sculpture and Painting on his public Images. But the laſt and moſt remarkable that appeared to him, and which gave the greateſt Encouragement to his Hopes, I could by no means think proper to paſs over in Silence.

His remarkable Dream.

When the News firſt arrived, that *Pertinax* was made Emperor, *Severus*, after having publicly attended Divine Service, and taken the proper Sacrament of Allegiance to the new Sovereign, returned to his Houſe in the Evening, and preſently fell into a deep Sleep: In which he thought he ſaw a large ſpirited Steed, adorn'd with royal Trappings, on which *Pertinax* was mounted, and rode in State through

One Night, as he was aſleep, a Snake folded itſelf round his Head, and went off without hurting him; while his Servants were terribly alarmed at the Sight.

Julian always uſed to call him his *Succeſſor*, becauſe he had ſucceded him in the Proconſulate of *Africa*.

A *Mathematician* (for ſo the *Latins* call'd an Aſtrologer) in *Africa* caſt his Nativity, and foretold his Sovereignty.

When he was in *Spain*, he dream'd one Night, that he muſt be the Repairer of the ruinated Temple of *Auguſtus* at *Arragon*.

As he was at Supper one Evening in his Garden, he gave his Son, then about five Years old, ſome Fruit; which the Child diſtributing among his Play-mates, the Father ſays to him, *Be a little more ſparing in your Diſtributions; you don't poſſeſs the Wealth of a King.* To which the Boy immediately replies, *But I ſhall.*

Theſe are the Predictions I have collected from *Dio* and *Spartian*. What Truth there may be in them, I ſhall not pretend to ſay. They are ſufficient to ſhew the Reader, how fond the *Romans* were of Prophecy, and on what kind of Omens they uſually relied.

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the *Holy Street* at *Rome*. When he came to the Entrance of the *Forum*, where the People uſed to aſſemble when *Rome* enjoyed her Liberty as a Republic, the Horſe immediately threw *Pertinax*; and as himſelf was ſtanding by, the Beaſt, ſtooping down, received him on his Back, roſe with him ſafe, and ſtanding firm in the midſt of the *Forum*, bore *Severus* aloft conſpicuous to the Multitude, who paid him all the Homage of a Sovereign. A magnificent Repreſentation of this Viſion remains in the ſame Place to this Day, the Figures of a large Size, and made of Braſs.

His Policy.

Severus thus raiſed into high Hopes, not doubting but he was called to the Empire by divine Providence, reſolved to ſound the Inclinations of the Army. At firſt therefore he gained to his Party the Prefects, Tribunes, and principal Soldiers, with whom he would often diſcourſe of the preſent abject State of the *Roman* Empire; how it lay deſerted, having no Man of Honour or Merit to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs. He enlarged on the Diſloyalty of the Soldiers of *Rome*, who with accumulated Treaſon had added Murther to Perjury, and ſtain'd their Arms with Imperial and Civil Blood. He hinted, at the ſame time, how juſt it would be, to avenge the Death of *Pertinax*; whoſe Virtues, he well knew, ſtill lived in the Memory of all the Soldiers in *Illyrium*: For under his Command, in *Marcus's* Reign, they had gained ſeveral great Victories over the *Germans*; and when he was made Commander in Chief and Governor of the *Illyrians*, he gave frequent Proofs of his perſonal Valour, and every other Ability requi-

ſite to conſtitute a good Officer; and in his Civil Government, always behaved with Gentleneſs, Generoſity, Wiſdom, and Moderation. Theſe good Qualities had endeared his Memory, and excited their Indignation at the horrid Cruelty he had ſo undeſervedly ſuffered. *Severus* made the beſt Advantages of their Reſentments; and by pretending he ſought not the Imperial Purple to promote his own private Intereſt, or ſatisfy a vain Deſire of Greatneſs, but to have it in his Power to take Vengeance on the Murtherers of ſo good a Prince, he eaſily drew them over to his Purpoſe. For the Men in theſe Parts, as they are tall and bulky in Body, and ſturdy and fierce Fighters; ſo they have very dull Wits, and are excellent Tools for Ambition, as they are ſo eaſily impoſed on by Craft or Flattery. Therefore, when he told them his Motive was only to avenge the Blood of *Pertinax*, they, without the leaſt Reſerve, conſented to declare *Severus* Emperor, and inveſt him with the ſupreme Power.

His Diſſimulation.

Having gained the *Pannonians* to his Intereſt, he diſpatches Meſſengers to the neighbouring Nations, and to all who held any Office of Truſt and Power within the Juriſdiction of the *Romans* in the North; whom, by great Hopes and Promiſes, he ſoon bribed to his Party. No Man was better qualified to court and acquire Popularity than *Severus*: He ſtuck at nothing to gain Credit; even Perjury itſelf, if needful, eaſily went down; Diſſimulation was natural to him; and his Tongue was always ready to utter Things contrary to the Sentiments of his Mind. Having therefore, by Letters, artfully

artfully inſinuated his Pretenſions, he won over all *Illyrium*, and the Rulers of the Provinces. He then convened the Soldiers from all Parts, and aſſuming the Name of *Pertinax* inſtead of *Severus* (by which he thought not only to attach the *Illyrians* to him, but to ingratiate himſelf alſo with the People of *Rome*, to whom the Name of *Pertinax* was dear) he gave Orders for their aſſembling in the Field; and a Pulpit being erected for him, he mounted, and addreſs'd himſelf to them in this manner.

His Speech to the Soldiers.

"Your warm Indignation againſt the daring "Inſolence of thoſe City-Soldiers, maintained "rather for Pomp than any noble Service, is a "certain Indication of your inviolate Faith, the "Reverence you have for the Gods, by whom "you ſwear, and that laudable Reſpect and Ho-"nour you pay the ſacred Majeſty of your "Princes. 'Tis from this Conſideration that I, "who never before durſt entertain the leaſt "Hope of this high Honour (for you all are "Witneſſes of my ſteady Obedience to my "Sovereigns) now confeſs myſelf ambitious of "promoting this glorious Cauſe, and bringing "the great Work you have undertaken to a "happy Iſſue. To raiſe the *Roman* Empire "from its abject State; that Empire, which "under the wiſe Direction of our former Princes "ſtruck the whole World with Wonder and "Reverence. And though, when it fell into "the Hands of *Commodus*, from the Inexperi-"ence of his Youth, it ſuffered ſome Diminu-"tion; yet the Greatneſs of his Birth, and the "Memory of his Father's Virtues, caſt a Shade "over his ill Conduct, and made us rather pity "his Frailties, than hate him for his Vices:

" The greateſt Part of which were not ſo much
" imputable to him, as to a ſervile Herd of
" Sycophants and Flatterers, Pandars to Luſt,
" and Miniſters to Iniquity. But when it's
" drooping Glory began to revive, under our
" late venerable Sovereign, whoſe Courage and
" Goodneſs are impreſſed in all your Breaſts
" with indelible Characters, this happy Proſpect
" was ſo odious in the Eyes of thoſe Traitors,
" that it ſtirred them up to aſſaſſinate the good
" old Man. That done; this extenſive Go-
" vernment of the Earth and Sea (O ſhameful
" Proſtitution!) *was ſold to a Perſon of incon-*
" ſiderable Note, to whom (as you hear) the
" People declare their Hatred, and the Soldiers,
" whom he cheated, are now diſaffected: Nor,
" if they were ever ſo zealouſly attached to his
" Government, are they to be compared to you,
" either collectively or ſingly, in manly Cou-
" rage improved by military Experience. You
" have often encountered the moſt barbarous
" Enemies. You have learned to bear tedious
" Labours, and painful Marches; to deſpiſe
" Extremes of Cold and Heat; to tread the
" Dangers of frozen Rivers; to drink Waters,
" not drawn up, but dug; to hunt the moſt
" ſavage Beaſts of Prey; in a word, your whole
" Life has been but one continued Improve-
" ment in Patience and Fortitude: So that no
" one, though ever ſo willing, is able to reſiſt
" you. 'Tis Labour and Hardſhip is the War-
" riour's Glory, not the Delicacy and Softneſs
" of a City Life; by which theſe Rioters and
" Debauchees have been ſo long enervated, that
" they have not Strength to ſuſtain the Shout,
" much leſs the Fury, of ſuch Soldiers as you.

" But

" But ſhould any one ſuſpect, that Affairs in " *Syria* may be attended with ſomewhat more " of Difficulty; let him reflect on the preſent " Inaction of the Troops there; and from that " he will form a juſt Idea of their Weakneſs: " For neither have they yet dared ſo much as " to conſult about marching to *Rome*; but think " themſelves happy enough to remain where " they are; and eſteem the daily Pleaſures, in " which they revel, a ſufficient Advantage from " a new precarious Power. The chief Excel- " lence and Delight of the *Syrians*, and eſpe- " cially thoſe of *Antioch*, who, they ſay, are the " principal Favourers of *Niger*, conſiſt in Jeſt- " ing and Drollery. The other Nations, and " the reſt of the Cities, ſeem to eſpouſe his In- " tereſt, only becauſe, ſo great is their Scarcity " of Courage and Prudence, they cannot find " a Man amongſt them worthy to be ſeated in " the Imperial Throne, and likely to diſcharge " the important Truſt with Honour. But when " once they ſhall be told, the whole *Illyrian* " Power has joined its unanimous Suffrage to " my Name (which, I preſume, is not un- " known or unhonoured amongſt them, as we " have formerly preſided over that Province) " be aſſured, they will neither deſpiſe my In- " dolence or Timidity, nor chuſe to expoſe " themſelves to your Reſentment, and ſad- " ly experience the warlike Virtue of Men " ſo much their Superiors, in corporal Stature, " in laborious Exerciſe, and in the Conflict of " a cloſe Engagement. Let us then anticipate " their March to *Rome*. There is the Seat of " the Imperial Dignity. From thence, exert- " ing our Power, we ſhall eaſily ſettle what re-

"mains, relying on the Predictions of the "Gods, on your Valour, the Force of your "Arms, and the Strength of your Bodies."

A.D.194. *Severus* is declared Emperor.

As ſoon as *Severus* had done ſpeaking in this manner, the Soldiers expreſſed their Zeal for his Service in loud Acclamations, calling him *Auguſtus* and *Pertinax*. He, judging it proper to admit no Delay, orders them to furniſh themſelves with only bare Neceſſaries, and make ready for a March to *Rome*; and having diſtributed proper Allowances for the Way, ſets out with great Expedition.

His Expedition for *Rome*.

Every right Meaſure was uſed to accelerate the Motion of the Army: He took the ſhorteſt Routes, made forced Marches, never halting or remaining at any Place longer than it was abſolutely neceſſary for the Soldiers to refreſh themſelves. Himſelf bore an equal Share of the Labours; he lay in a common Tent, carried the ſame Proviſions both in Quantity and Quality, without aſſuming the leaſt Diſtinction or royal Indulgence; that by theſe Condeſcenſions he might confirm the Good-will of the Soldiers. For when they ſaw him not only partake, but enter firſt upon the moſt arduous Labours, they revered his Fortitude, and obeyed all his Orders with Alacrity. When he had in this manner run through all *Pannonia*, and came upon the Confines of *Italy*, the *Italians* ſaw him their Sovereign, before they had heard the News of his leaving the Province.

Deſcription of *Italy* and its Inhabitants.

This ſtruck all the Cities with Terror, at the Approach of ſo powerful an Army: For the Inhabitants had long abandoned the Uſe of Arms, and Exerciſes of War; and were wholly employed in Agriculture and other peaceful Arts,

Arts. For while the *Roman* Government was a Democracy, and the Senate had the Power of making War, and appointing the Generals, all the *Italians* were perpetually in Arms; and having conquered the *Greeks* and Barbarians, were Maſters of the Land and Sea; nor was there a Region of the Earth, or Climate of Heaven, where the *Roman* Power was not extended: But when they were reduced to a Monarchy under *Auguſtus Cæſar*, he eaſed the *Italians* of the Fatigues of War, and ſtripped them of their Arms, leaving only ſeveral Garriſons and Encampments of mercenary Forces, hired at a certain Stipend of Proviſions, for the Defence of the Empire. With theſe Barriers, together with the Advantages of great Rivers, large Ditches, the Projection of high Mountains, and long Tracks of Deſart-Land interrupted with frequent rough and hollow Ways, almoſt unpaſſable, he fortified all the Frontiers of his Empire as with a Wall. Hence it is not to be wonder'd, that when they heard *Severus* was advancing with ſo great a Number of Forces, they were terribly alarm'd at the Unuſualneſs of the thing, and too much intimidated to make any Reſiſtance; but went out to meet him with Laurels in their Hands, and opened all the Gates for his Reception. However, he tarried no longer with them than juſt to perform the accuſtom'd Sacrifices, and to addreſs himſelf in a ſhort Speech to the People; and then proceded with all Expedition to *Rome*.

When Advice of all this was brought to *Julian*, it ſtruck him into the deepeſt Dejection. He was told of the great Proweſs and Number of the *Illyrian* Army; and deſpaired of any Succours

Julian's Embarraſſment.

Succours from the People, by whom he knew himſelf hated; nor had he better Confidence in the Soldiers, whom he was conſcious of having cheated. Collecting therefore all the Moneys he could get from his Friends, and pillaging the Temples and other public Places where any Treaſure was contained, he reſolved to diſtribute it to the Soldiers, to regain, if poſſible, their good Affection. They, indeed, received conſiderable Sums, but without thinking themſelves at all beholden to him; as they look'd upon it as a Payment of a former Debt, and not any additional Gratuity. His Friends likewiſe adviſed him to lead out the Army, and occupy the Defiles of the *Alps*. Theſe are Mountains of a ſtupendous height, and ſuch as are no where elſe ſeen in this Part of the World, ſtretching along in the Form of a Wall, and projecting over the Borders of *Italy*; which, among other Bleſſings of Nature, enjoys the peculiar Advantage of having its Frontiers covered with this impregnable Munition, which riſing from the Northern, reaches quite to the Southern Sea. But he was ſo far from following this Advice, that he durſt not attempt to ſtir out of the City; but ſent to the Soldiers, intreating them to take their Arms, to exerciſe themſelves, and to throw up Trenches before the City; while himſelf made great Preparations, as if he deſigned to fight with *Severus* within the Gates. He endeavoured to teach the Elephants, kept for Pomp and Pageantry, to bear Riders, imagining he ſhould frighten the *Illyrian* Soldiers, and put the Cavalry of the Enemy into Confuſion at the Sight of ſuch huge Beaſts as they never had ſeen before: In a word,

the whole City was employed in making Arms, and providing all the Apparatus of War.

While *Julian's* Soldiers were thus taken up in only preparing for a War, News arrived, that *Severus* was approaching. He had diſperſed a great Part of his Army, with Orders to ſteal ſecretly into the City; which they effected, by taking different Roads, and diſguiſing themſelves in the Habit of Peaſants; which covering their Arms, gave them Opportunity of paſſing in the Night-time unſuſpected. By this Stratagem, great Numbers of the Enemy lay conceal'd within the Walls, while *Julian* was too ſupine to ſuſpect any thing of that nature. But when the People were appriſed of this, they were all in great Conſternation; and dreading the Power of *Severus*, they pretended to be in his Intereſt; condemning *Julian* for his Cowardice, and *Niger* for his Remiſſneſs and Inaction; and at the ſame time aſtoniſhed at *Severus's* ſudden Approach, whom they thought as yet at a far greater Diſtance.

A Stratagem of *Severus*.

Julian was now in great Dread and Irreſolution, and quite at a loſs how to proceed: He convenes the Senate, and diſpatches Letters to *Severus*; in which he deſires to come to a Treaty; ſalutes him by the Title of Emperor, and offers to receive him as a Collegue in the Government. The Senate conſented to all this; but ſeeing the wretched Timidity and abject Spirit of *Julian*, they ſoon came over to the Intereſt of *Severus*; and about two or three Days after, when they heard he was at the Walls, holding *Julian* in great Contempt, they met in full Frequence by Order of the Conſuls, who have the Adminiſtration of Affairs at *Rome* during the Time of

Julian is murthered.

A.D.194. of an Interregnum: And being aſſembled, they debated about what Meaſures were to be taken. *Julian* was all this time in the Palace, bewailing his wretched Fortune, and begging he might have the Liberty of abdicating the Sovereignty, and transferring all his Power to *Severus*. But when the Senate were informed of his Deſpair, and that all the Guards had deſerted him, they came to an Agreement to diſpatch him, and declare *Severus* ſole Emperor. Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, they ſend from the principal Magiſtrates, and the chief of the Senate, Ambaſſadors to *Severus*, to pay him all the Homage of a Sovereign; and at the ſame time, one of the military Tribunes is ſent to kill *Julian*. The Officer enters the Palace, and finds the miſerable timid old Man all alone, deſerted by Guards and Friends; and while he was meanly crying and lamenting, falls upon him and murthers him. Thus met *Julian* that evil End, which himſelf had unhappily purchaſed with his own Money.

Another Stratagem of *Severus*.

When *Severus* was inform'd of the Determination of the Senate, and the Death of *Julian*, it raiſed his Mind into greater Hopes, and put him upon forming a Scheme, to take all the Murtherers of *Pertinax* Priſoners. In order to this, he ſends private Letters to the Tribunes and Centurions, containing great Promiſes, if they would perſuade the City-Soldiers quietly to obey his Orders. In the mean time he publiſhes a Proclamation, commanding them to come out of the Camp, unarm'd, in a peaceable manner, as they were accuſtomed to attend their Emperor at a Sacrifice or Feſtival, and take the Oaths of Fidelity to *Severus*; and

at

at the ſame time inſinuating, that they might conceive great Hopes of being his Body-Guard. The *Soldiers* were credulous enough to believe him, eſpecially as they were over-perſuaded by their Officers; and accordingly left their Arms, and came out of their Camp with Laurels in their Hands, and dreſs'd as when they march'd in Holyday-Proceſſion. When they were come to the Camp of *Severus*, and he was informed they were all in the Field, he orders them to aſſemble, for that he deſigned to addreſs himſelf to them in a Speech. Accordingly, he mounts the Roſtrum: But as they were gathering about him with loud unanimous Acclamations, they were all, at a Sign given, taken into Cuſtody. For *Severus* had ordered, that while they were ſtanding and gazing at their new Emperor, and had their Minds ſuſpended on what he was going to ſay, his Soldiers ſhould ſurround them as ſo many Enemies, and, without wounding or ſtriking any one, ſhould incloſe them in a Ring, and keep them faſt, by pointing their Javelins and Spears towards the Centre; that ſo the Fear of being wounded might hinder them, unarm'd and few, from reſiſting thoſe who had the Advantage of Arms and Number. When he thus caught them, as it were, in a Net of Arms, and had them all cloſe Priſoners, with a loud Voice, and a furious Spirit, he accoſted them in the following Manner.

His Speech to the Pretorians.

" You ſee, by Experience, how much we " are your Superiors in Wiſdom, Strength, and " Number. We have taken you with Eaſe, and " hold you Captives without the leaſt Oppoſi- " tion. You are henceforth to be conſidered

" as

" as Victims to our Power; and the Deciſion of
" your Fate is in my Hands. If you are now
" thinking what Puniſhment is due to your
" Crimes, 'tis impoſſible to find any Torture
" adequate to your atrocious Guilt. You have
" murthered with your own Hands that vene-
" able old Man, that beneficent Prince, whoſe
" Life it was your Duty, as his Guards, to
" have defended. You have inſolently ſold by
" Auction, as a piece of common Ware, that
" glorious Empire of the *Roman* People, which
" their Anceſtors always either acquired by Vir-
" tue, or, on account of their high Birth, ob-
" tained by Succeſſion. Nor had you either
" Courage or Honour enough to protect him,
" whom you choſe for your Maſter; but have,
" like ſhameleſs Cowards, deſerted him. For
" ſuch Villainies, for ſuch Inſolence, ten thou-
" ſand Deaths were too light a Puniſhment, if
" any one would inflict a Penalty equal to your
" Demerits. What then you ought to ſuffer,
" you plainly ſee. But I ſhall not imitate the
" Example of your murtherous Hands, by de-
" filing my own with your Blood. And tho'
" it would be derogative to Religion, and in-
" compatible with Juſtice, that you ſhould any
" longer be the Emperor's Guards; you, who
" have broken the moſt ſacred of Oaths; con-
" taminated your Arms in Civil, in Imperial
" Blood; violated your Faith, and betrayed
" what was committed to your Defence; I ſhall
" nevertheleſs ſpare your Lives: Receive them,
" and the Freedom of your Bodies, as a Gift
" of my unmerited Mercy. I hereby order my
" Soldiers, whoſe Priſoners you are, to diſgird
" you, ſtrip you of your military Dreſs, and
" every

" every the leaſt Badge of a Soldier, and ſend " you away naked; ſtrictly charging you to " retire into Countries very far diſtant from " *Rome*. And I here ſolemnly ſwear by the " Gods, that if one of you ſhall ever after be " found within an hundred Miles of the City, " his Life ſhall be the Forfeit taken for his " Diſobedience."

Upon this ſolemn Denunciation, the *Illyrian* Soldiers ſeized them, took away their Daggers, worn only for Ornament, and finely embelliſh'd with Gold and Silver; and having ſtript them of their Belts, Clothes, and every thing belonging to a Soldier, they ſent them off naked. All this they were obliged to take patiently: For what could they do, thus craftily circumvented, naked againſt armed, few againſt many? But though they look'd upon their Lives as a Gift of Fortune, yet they could not refrain lamenting the Ignominy of their Caſe; and curſing their own Credulity, which, by perſuading them to come out unarmed, had betrayed them to this ſhameful Diſgrace. The Prætorians caſhier'd.

Severus had made uſe of another Stratagem: For fearing, after they were diſgirded, ſtript, and caſhiered, they might run back to their Camp, and take their Arms again; he diſpatched ſome of his Soldiers, whom he could beſt truſt, with ſecret Orders to take the unfrequented By-ways, ſteal into their evacuated Camp, and ſeize upon their Arms; and, by ſhutting up the Gates, hinder them from re-entering, in caſe they ſhould attempt it. Such was the Puniſhment inflicted on the Murtherers of *Pertinax*.

After

Severus enters *Rome.*

After this, *Severus* marched in Order of Battle with the reſt of his Army to *Rome*. As ſoon as he appeared, he ſtruck Terror and Aſtoniſhment into all the *Romans*, at the adventurous and ſucceſsful Steps he had taken. The People and Senate, with Laurels in their Hands, received him, as the only Man, and firſt Emperor, that had atchieved ſuch great Deſigns without Battle or Skirmiſh. Every thing in him appeared wonderful, but eſpecially his prodigious Subtilty, his hardy Sufferance, and the ſtrong Spirits and Hopes, with which he undertook the moſt daring Enterprizes. When he had received the uſual Salutations of Honour from the Senate at the Gates of the City, he proceded, amidſt the loud Shouts and Applauſes of the People, to the Temple of *Jupiter*; and having performed the accuſtomed Divine Service ſuitable to the Occaſion, firſt there, and afterwards in all the other Temples in Order, he retired into the Imperial Palace.

The next Day he went to the Senate-houſe, and made a gracious Speech from the Throne, full of good Hopes, and the moſt pleaſing Proſpects, to every one both of public and private Character, telling them, "He came to avenge "the Murther of *Pertinax*, and to found and "ſettle amongſt them an Ariſtocracy; That "no one ſhould henceforth ſuffer Death or "Proſcription without a legal Trial; That he "would ſuffer no baſe Informers, but that he "would in all his Meaſures ſeek the true and "laſting Happineſs of his People, imitating in "his Government the Example of *Marcus*; "and that in him they ſhould find, not only the "Name, but the Virtues of *Pertinax* revived."

By

By theſe fine Promiſes he gained the Credit and Aſſent of the greateſt Part: But there were ſome of the elder amongſt them who knew the Nature of the Man; and ſecretly foretold the reſt, that they would find him a cunning ſhrewd Perſon, one that knew artfully to diſguiſe his Sentiments, and to pretend and promiſe every thing that was conducive to his own Intereſt or Emolument. All which Premonitions were ſufficiently juſtified in the Sequel.

When he had ſpent ſome Time at *Rome*, and ſhewed his Munificence by making liberal Congiaries and grand Entertainments to the People, and diſtributing great Donatives amongſt his Soldiers; and had pick'd out the ſtouteſt of theſe for his Imperial Guards, in the room of thoſe he had caſhiered; he gets every thing ready for an Expedition to the Eaſt; intending, while *Niger* was unprepared, and indulging himſelf in Pleaſures and Diverſions at *Antioch*, to ſurprize him unawares. Accordingly, he orders his Army to make the neceſſary Preparations; and in the mean time he raiſes Recruits from every Quarter, enliſting all the Prime of the ſeveral Cities of *Italy*, and ſending to the Remainder of his Army in *Illyrium*, to make a Deſcent into *Thrace*, and there meet him. Nor did he omit to fit out from all the Ports of *Italy* a numerous Fleet of Galleys, which he mann'd with large Complements of Marines, and ordered to put to Sea. Thus he had collected, in a ſhort Time, a prodigious Number of Forces; as well knowing, no ſmall Power would be ſufficient againſt all the Nations of the Continent oppoſite to *Europe*, who were in the Intereſt of *Niger*; and therefore he reſoved to be

wanting in nothing, that was neceſſary for the carrying on a vigorous War.

Severus uſes artful Meaſures with Albinus.

But being a Man of great Penetration and Sagacity, he was not without Suſpicion of ſome Diſturbance from the Forces in *Britain*, conſiſting of Troops very formidable for Number and Proweſs. Theſe were all commanded by *Albinus*, a Man of Patrician Family, and brought up in Affluence and Luxury: Him *Severus* wanted greatly to circumvent, and flatter into his Intereſt; leſt his great Wealth, the Nobleneſs of his Birth, the Force of his Army, and his univerſal Popularity among the *Romans* (all very powerful Incentives to Ambition) might encourage him to attempt ſetting himſelf at the Head of the Empire; and, as the Diſtance from *Britain* to *Rome* was not very great, while *Severus* was abſent, and wholly taken up with the War in the Eaſt, he might come to the City and declare his Pretenſions. He therefore lays a Bait of titulary Honour, to lure *Albinus* into his Intereſt; and as he knew the Man to be of a very artleſs ſimple Mind, he writes him ſeveral Letters, full of Oaths and Promiſes; which the other was credulous enough to truſt. To anticipate his Hope, and ſooth his Vanity, he compliments him with the Title of *Cæſar*[1],

[1] The firſt fourteen Emperors of *Rome* were all called *Cæſars*, in Honour of *Julius Cæſar*. But in the Time of *Adrian*, the fifteenth Emperor, a new Method was taken, and only the Heirs, apparent or preſumptive, of the Imperial Dignity, had the Title of *Cæſar*. For that Emperor, having adopted *Ælius Verus*, the Father of *Lucius Verus*, called him only *Cæſar*: Whereby he was declared his deſign'd Succeſſor, without being made a Partner or Collegue in the Empire. The Title of *Auguſtus* was given to all the Emperors; but not to their appointed Succeſſors, unleſs

thereby making him an Aſſiſtant in the Imperial Power. He prays him, in the moſt friendly Terms, to take extraordinary Care of the *Empire* in his Abſence; for that there was great need of a Man of his Quality, Fortune, and Flower of Age, to take the Adminiſtration of Affairs; inaſmuch as himſelf was now grown old, and often afflicted with the Gout; and his Sons as yet were but mere Infants. *Albinus*, with great Credulity and Fondneſs, accepted the Compliments, and thought himſelf extremely happy, thus to arrive at the Object of his Wiſhes, without War or Danger. And to confirm him in his Deluſion, *Severus* laid the ſame before the Senate; and permitted Money to be coined with the Impreſſion of *Albinus's* Image; had his Statues erected; and every other Mark of Honour paid him, that could any ways help to perſuade him of the Reality of his Profeſſions.

All things thus artfully ſettled with regard to *Albinus*, when there remained no more Apprehenſion of any Difficulties from the Side of

unleſs they were taken into Partnerſhip with them in the Sovereignty. The two firſt Co-Emperors we read of, were *Marcus Antoninus* and *Lucius Verus*; who were both *Auguſti*, and Collegues in the Sovereignty. The ſame *Marcus* afterwards made his Son *Commodus*, not only *Cæſar*, or Heir-apparent, but *Auguſtus*, or Co-partner in the Empire. The Women likewiſe were endowed with this Honour: For *Marcus* had his Wife *Fauſtina*, and his Daughters too, called *Auguſtæ*. Nor had his Wife only the Name of *Auguſta*, but alſo, *Mater Caſtrorum*, *Mother of the Camp*; a Title of as great Honour in the Military Government, as *Auguſta* in the Civil.

Severus, therefore, gave *Albinus* the Title of *Cæſar*; by which he pretended, he deſign'd him his Succeſſor, in caſe he ſhould miſcarry in his Expedition againſt *Niger*.

Britain; *Severus*, having with him his *Illyrian* Forces, and thinking every thing well provided to ſtrengthen his Power, advances in his Expedition againſt *Niger*. His long and painful Marches, the Halts he made, his Speeches to the ſeveral Cities where he ſtopped, the frequent Prodigies and Signs which appeared, and the many Predictions and Omens ſuppoſed to be ſent him from the Gods, the Deſcents he made into ſeveral Countries, the Oppoſitions he met, the Battles he fought, and the Numbers which fell on both Sides; have been pompouſly deſcribed by a great Number both of Hiſtorians and Poets; who have choſen the wonderful Incidents of *Severus's* Life for the Arguments of their ſeveral Compoſitions. But as my preſent Deſign is to collect the remarkable Tranſactions of many Emperors during the Courſe of ſeventy Years [m], which fell within the Com-

[m] I cannot conceive what *Herodian* means by *ſeventy* Years; nor have I ever found it handſomely ſalved. In the Proem he ſpeaks of the Revolutions which had happened in the Empire in the Space of *ſixty* Years. 'Tis hard to reconcile this Difference, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to include ten Years of *Marcus's* Reign, or to continue his Hiſtory ten Years after the Acceſſion of *Gordian* to the Imperial Dignity; either of which ſeems abſurd. I therefore ſuſpect ſome Error in the Number here mentioned, a thing very common in all the Writings of Antiquity. For he muſt be very little acquainted with the ancient Copies both of ſacred and profane Scripture, who has not diſcovered innumerable Paſſages, where the Text is groſly corrupted by Mutilations, Interpolations, Miſtakes, and Alterations, not only with regard to Chronology (for that hardly ever eſcapes) but in Relations of Facts and Points of Doctrine. And though this is commonly charged on the illiterate *Librarii*, or *Copiers* (who, it muſt be own'd, were careleſs and ignorant enough) yet it too often viſibly appears to be the Work of Perſons of greater Authority, done

paſs of my own Knowledge; conformable to this Plan, I ſhall in the following Sheets ſet down in Order only the principal and moſt memorable Actions of *Severus*, neither aggrandizing or extolling Matters for intereſted Views (as was the Cuſtom of the Writers in his Time) nor extenuating or omitting any Circumſtance worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

done to ſalve ſome favourite Hypotheſis; or to ſerve particular Purpoſes of a darker Colour. However, as there appears no great Reaſon to ſuſpect a deſign'd Corruption in this Place; I am inclined to think it a Miſtake of the Copiers. For 'tis inconteſtably certain, that the Time of our Author's Hiſtory, as we have it at preſent, cannot include above ſixty Years.

HERODIAN.

BOOK III.

A.D.194. THE Deaths of *Pertinax* and *Julian*, and the Return of *Severus* to *Rome*, have been related in the preceding Book, together with his Expedition undertaken againſt *Niger*; the News of which ſtruck the latter with the utmoſt Conſternation. He was amazed to hear, what he ſo little expected, that *Severus* had taken poſſeſſion of the City; had been ſaluted Emperor by the Senate; and was now advancing againſt him with a very formidable Armament, conſiſting of all the *Illyrian* Power, and great Numbers of other Forces, both by Land and Sea.

Niger prepares for the War. In this ſudden Embaraſſment, the firſt Step he took was to diſpatch Orders to all the Governors in the reſpective Nations, to guard the Paſſes and Ports of their Countries. He then ſent Embaſſies to the Kings of the *Parthians*, *Armenians*, and *Atreni*, to beg Auxiliaries. The *Armenian* anſwered, He deſigned to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality; and ſhould think himſelf happy if he could defend his own Territories, eſpecially as *Severus* was already approaching. The *Parthian* returned, That he would write to his Viceroys to collect Forces. This was

was his Cuſtom in any Emergency: For the *Parthians* never keep any Soldiers in conſtant Pay to compoſe a Standing Army. From the *Atreni* came ſome auxiliary Archers, ſent by *Barſemius*, the then King of thoſe Places. The reſt of his Army conſiſted of all the ſtanding Forces in thoſe Parts, and a great Number of the raw Youth of the Country, eſpecially of *Antioch*; who, with a juvenile Forwardneſs, rather than Experience, enliſted under *Niger* out of a particular Zeal for his Service. He likewiſe gave Orders for fortifying the Straits and Precipices of *Mount Taurus* with ſtrong Walls and Redoubts; thinking the inacceſſible Heights of the Mountain a good Defence to all the Paſſes of the Eaſt. For *Taurus*, paſſing between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, ſeparates the Frontiers of the Northern and Eaſtern Nations. He at the ſame time detach'd a large Body of Forces to ſeize upon *Byzantium*, then the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing City of all *Thrace*, exceeding populous and wealthy. For being a maritime Port, ſituated on the narroweſt Strait of the *Propontis*, it raiſes a conſiderable Revenue from its Duties and Fiſhery: And poſſeſſing alſo a large Tract of very fruitful Land, it is enrich'd with the Gain of both Elements. This made *Niger* ſo deſirous of taking poſſeſſion of ſo important a Place, eſpecially as he hoped, by being Maſter of *Byzantium*, he might cut off the Paſſage of the Enemy over theſe Straits from *Europe* into *Aſia*. The City was fortified with high and ſtrong Walls, built with *Mileſian* Stones, ſo exactly ſquared, and cloſely cemented, that the Joints were not viſible, but the whole Wall looked like one continuous Stone. The Ruins

Deſcription of *Byzantium*.

of this curious Structure are yet to be ſeen; which ſtrike the Paſſenger with a pleaſing Admiration, while he contemplates at once the ſurprizing Art of the firſt Builders, and the great Power of thoſe who afterwards demoliſh'd it.

Niger's Troops under *Æmilian* defeated.

While *Niger* thus managed the defenſive Part with great Foreſight, and (as he thought) as great Security, *Severus* advanced with all poſſible Expedition, leaving no room for Sloth or Inaction. When he received Advice that *Byzantium* was occupied, as he knew it to be a ſtrong Fortreſs, he orders his Army to march to *Cyzicus*. Upon which, *Æmilian*, Governor of *Aſia*, whom *Niger* had made Commander in Chief, and intruſted with the ſole Management of the War, being informed of the Motion of the Enemy's Army, alters his Route, and marches likewiſe for *Cyzicus* with his whole Army, conſiſting of thoſe himſelf had collected, and the Reinforcements ſent him by *Niger*. When the two Armies met, ſeveral ſharp and bloody Battles were fought in thoſe Parts; which ended in favour of *Severus*. *Niger's* Soldiers were repulſed with great Slaughter; and this Defeat very much damp'd the Spirits of the Eaſtern Powers, and animated thoſe of the *Illyrians*.

Some report, that *Æmilian* betrayed his Charge, and willingly ſuffered this firſt Check to *Niger's* Power: For which piece of Treachery they aſſign a two-fold Reaſon. Some impute it to Envy, and ſay, *Æmilian* could not bear the Thoughts of having him for his Lord and Sovereign, who had but juſt before ſucceeded him in the Government of *Syria*: Others aſſert, he was prevail'd upon by the Intreaty of his

his Sons, who had written to him, beſeeching him to have regard to their Safety. *Severus* had ſeized theſe Youths at *Rome*, and had them now with him in Cuſtody. For being a Perſon of uncommon Cunning, among other pieces of Policy he made uſe of this.

It was *Commodus's* Method, when he ſent Governors into their ſeveral Provinces, to retain their Children with him at *Rome*, as ſo many Hoſtages for the Faith of their Parents. This *Severus* knowing, as ſoon as he got himſelf declared Emperor, while *Julian* was yet living, he took care to ſend ſecretly ſome of his Friends, to bring his Children by Stealth out of the City; that ſo they might not be in the Power of another: But immediately upon his entring *Rome*, he ſeized the Children of all the Pretors and others, who held any conſiderable Command in the Eaſt, or any part of *Aſia*. Theſe he kept in Cuſtody, and brought with him; that either the paternal Affections of *Niger's* Officers might prevail with them to betray their ſeveral Truſts; or if they continued obſtinately faithful, he might be beforehand with them in Miſchief, and puniſh the Fathers, by ſpilling the Blood of their Children. *Severus's* Policy.

After this ſignal Defeat at *Cyzicus*, *Niger's* Forces were diſperſed, and every one endeavoured to ſhift for himſelf: Some fled by the mountainous Parts of *Armenia*; others to *Galatia* and *Aſia*, ſtriving to paſs the Eminencies of the *Taurus*, and get as ſoon as poſſible within the Fortifications; while *Severus* leads his Army through the Territory of *Cyzicus*, and penetrates into *Bithynia*, the adjoining Country.

The

Character of the *Greeks.*

The News of his laſt Victory, diffuſing thro' theſe Parts, excited great Diſcord and Sedition in the ſeveral Cities; not ſo much from Zeal or Diſaffection to either of the contending Princes, as from Rancour and Envy one towards another, the old Diſeaſe of the *Greeks*; whoſe mutual Malice and Civil Broils, together with that implacable Spite they always bore every Man of ſuperior Abilities, ended in the total Ruin of their Country. For while their domeſtic Quarrels weakened their Strength, and conſumed the very Vitals of their Conſtitution, they fell an eaſy Prey to the *Macedonians* firſt; and afterwards became Slaves to the *Romans*. This inveterate Evil tranſmitted its Venom to ſucceding Ages, and reigned in our moſt flouriſhing Cities quite down to our own Times.

Niger's Party defeated.

In *Bithynia* then, the Inhabitants of *Nicomedia*, immediately after the Action at *Cyzicus*, revolted to *Severus*; ſending Ambaſſadors, that they were ready to receive his Army, and furniſh every thing he was pleaſed to demand. They of *Nice*, on the other hand, out of Enmity to the *Nicomedians*, declared for *Niger*; and received his Forces, as well thoſe who fled thither from *Cyzicus*, as the Garriſon ſent by *Niger* for the Defence of *Bithynia*. Thus, divided into two Parties, they iſſued out upon one another from their reſpective Cities, as from different Camps; and after a ſharp and fierce Conteſt, *Severus* gained another Victory. *Niger's* Party was again routed; great Numbers were ſlain; and the reſt fled with Precipitation to the Straits of *Taurus*, and guarded the Paſſes of the Mountain.

Niger

Niger, having left what Garriſons he thought ſufficient for the Defence of the Barriers, haſtens with the Remainder of his Army to raiſe Recruits and Money. In the mean time, *Severus* paſſes through *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, pours his Forces into *Cappadocia*, and ſets down before the Fortification. This proved a very arduous Taſk. The Straitneſs and Ruggedneſs of the Paſſage made it impervious; and the Beſieged, ſome from the Eminencies of the Mountain, threw down huge Stones on the Heads of the Aſſailants; others, from the Works on the Wall, ſtrenuouſly maintained the Poſt, and tho' but few in Number, were able to diſpute the Paſs with a Multitude. For the Way was exceeding narrow, and covered on one ſide by a vaſt impending Mountain, and on the other by rapid Torrents of Water, continually ruſhing down from the Precipices: And *Niger* had taken care to fortify the Place with every kind of Works, that might hinder the Enemy from making an Irruption into the Country. *Mount Taurus* beſieged.

While Affairs were thus carried on in *Cappadocia*, new Seditions were blown up from the old Cauſe of mutual Enmity among the ſeveral Cities. In *Syria* the *Laodiceans*, from their Hatred to the People of *Antioch*; and in *Phœnicia* the *Tyrians*, out of ſpite to the *Berytians*, being told that *Niger* was put to flight, pull'd down all his Statues and other honorary Enſigns, and declared publickly for *Severus*. When *Niger*, who was then at *Antioch*, was informed of theſe Defections; though he was otherwiſe a Man of a meek gentle Diſpoſition, 'tis natural to ſuppoſe he was highly enraged. He reſolv'd to revenge the Indignity offered him with the utmoſt *Laodicea* and *Tyre* deſtroyed.

utmoſt Severity; and accordingly detached a ſtrong Corps, conſiſting of all the *Moors* he had with him, who were excellent at the Dart, and a part of the Archers, with Orders to attack the two revolted Cities, put all they met to the Sword, plunder the Houſes, and lay the whole Cities in Aſhes. The *Moors* (as they are by Nature a ſavage Blood-thirſty Race of Men, deſpiſing Death and Dangers) fell upon the *Laodiceans* unawares, and, without the leaſt Remorſe, butcher'd all the Inhabitants, and raſed the City. From thence they proceeded to *Tyre*, where they committed all kinds of Outrage and Slaughter amongſt the Citizens; and having firſt plundered the City, they ſet it on fire, and burned it to the Ground.

The Paſſes of the *Taurus* gained.

While theſe Barbarities were acting in *Syria*, and *Niger* was levying all the Force he could collect, *Severus's* Army continued their Siege before the Mountain. His Soldiers were now greatly diſheartened, and deſpaired of ever carrying the Place; inaſmuch as it was ſo ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature, that they look'd upon it as impregnable. But while the Beſiegers were haraſſed and ſpent with the fruitleſs Toil, and *Niger's* Soldiers imagin'd themſelves ſecure; all on a ſudden, a violent Storm of Rain fell in the Night-time, mixed with great Quantities of Snow (for through all *Cappadocia*, and eſpecially about the *Taurus*, the Winters are very ſevere) which ruſhing down in Cataracts from the Steeps of the Mountains, and its uſual Vent being obſtructed by the Fortifications, the Torrent ſwell'd, and bore with great Violence againſt the Works; the Obſtruction of which augmented its Force, till at length Art gave way

way to Nature; and the Load of Waters, preſſing againſt the Wall, looſen'd its Cement and ſap'd the Foundation (as it had been built in a great Hurry, and not with that Care the Situation demanded) and broke a Paſſage underneath. This the Beſieged obſerving, and fearing, when the Torrent was abated, they might be ſurrounded by the Enemy, as they were now deprived of their Defence, they deſerted their Poſts and fled. This lucky Incident cheared the Spirits of *Severus's* Soldiers. They now concluded Divine Providence was their Leader; and perceiving the Place left defenceleſs, they got over the Eminencies of the Mountain, and without any Reſiſtance penetrated into *Cilicia*.

Niger meets *Severus* at the Bay of *Iſſus*.

Niger, being informed of what had happened, marches immediately to meet them, at the head of a very numerous, indeed, but a raw, unexperienced Army. For a great multitude of Recruits, and almoſt all the Youth of *Antioch*, had enter'd Volunteers into his Service: So that he had a ſufficient Number of Soldiers, all ready and forward enough, but far inferior to the *Illyrian* Forces in Experience and hardy Valour. The two Armies met near what they call *The Bay of* Iſſus, in a large Plain, encloſed all round with Hills, except from the Part next the Sea, where it extends in a long and ſpacious Shore; as if Nature had formed this Spot for an Amphitheatre, where contending Powers might exhibit the tragic Scenes of War. Here, they ſay, *Alexander* gave *Darius* his great and final Overthrow[a]; the Nations of the North

[a] The Bay of *Iſſus* lies on that Part of the *Mediterranean* Sea oppoſite to the North-Eaſt Extremity of the Iſland *Cyprus*. But our Author ſeems to be miſtaken, in ſaying, this

then likewiſe defeating in the ſame Spot all the Eaſtern Powers. The Trophy and Monuments of that Victory remain to this Day. There is a City built on one of the Eminencies, and call'd *Alexandria*, with a Statue of Braſs erected in honour of the Victor, from whom the Place took its Name. And it ſo happened, that not only *Severus* and *Niger* ſhould come to an Encounter in the ſame Spot of Ground; but that the Fortunes of the different Nations ſhould be the ſame now, as in the former Conflict.

Niger is overthrown, and kill'd.

Both Armies form'd in the Evening; and the important Criſis hinder'd either Side from taking any Reſt all Night. At the riſing of the Sun both advanced, each Leader encouraging and confirming his Soldiers; and a general Action ſoon enſued. They fell on with great Fury from all Parts, as this was to be the laſt deciſive Battle, the Succeſs of which was to determine the future Fate of the *Roman* Empire. The Diſpute continued a long time very obſtinate and bloody; and ſuch Numbers were killed and wounded on both Sides, that the Streams of the Rivers, which ran through the Plains, rolled more Blood than Water into the Sea. At laſt the Eaſtern Nations were again routed; and the *Illyrians* drove great Numbers

this was the laſt Battle between *Alexander* and *Darius*. For *Quintus Curtius*, who lived in the Time of our Saviour, or ſoon after, makes *Arbela*, a City of *Aſſyria*, the Scene of the laſt Action between thoſe two Powers. And *Arrian*, who wrote a little before *Herodian*, confirms the ſame. For ſpeaking (Hiſt. vi.) of the Battle at *Arbela*, which he calls the laſt, he ſubjoins; Καθάπερ ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἐν Ισσοῖς, τὴν πρώτην ἱππομαχίαν πρὸς Γρανίκῳ. *In the ſame manner as the Battle in* Iſſus *before this; and the firſt Fight of the Cavalry at the* Granicus.

of

of them wounded into the Sea. The reſt flying towards the Hills were purſued by the Conquerors; who cut them to pieces, together with a numerous Multitude of every ſort, that had flock'd thither from the circumjacent Towns and Villages to be idle Spectators of the Battle. *Niger*, being mounted on a generous Steed, fled with a few Followers to *Antioch*; where he found the Remainder of the People deſerting the Place, and the whole City fill'd with Cries and Lamentations of Parents and Children, mourning the Loſs of their Sons and Brothers. The melancholy Proſpect depreſſed his Spirits. He immediately left *Antioch*; and hiding himſelf in a little obſcure ſuburban Village, was found by a Party of the Enemy's Horſe; who ſeized him and took off his Head. This unhappy End met *Niger*, as a Puniſhment for his Slowneſs and Negligence: For in every other reſpect he was, they ſay, not a bad Man, either in his public or private Capacity.

But *Severus*, after *Niger* was dead, puniſhed all his Friends, and thoſe who had adhered to his Intereſt, whether voluntarily or through neceſſity, with the moſt inexorable Severity. But hearing the Remainder of his Army had paſſed the *Tigris*, and, ſtruck with Terror of *Severus's* Power, had gone over to the Barbarians, he recall'd them, by publiſhing a general Amneſty. For a great Number of them had enter'd into foreign Service. Which was the Cauſe, that the Barbarians, after this, were more formidable Enemies to the *Romans* in a cloſe Engagement. Before, they knew only to ſhoot Arrows from their Horſes, before them, when they advanced, and behind them, when they were purſued; but

were ignorant of the Uſe of Armour; wearing only a light careleſs Dreſs, and never daring to attack with Spears, or engage Sword in hand: But now a great Number of the *Romans*, many of whom were good Mechanics, flying to them for Protection, and afterwards reſiding in their Country, they learned from them, not only to uſe Arms, but alſo to make them.

Severus attempts to cut off *Albinus* by Treachery.

Affairs in the Eaſt being ſettled according to his Wiſh and as the preſent Circumſtances ſeem'd to require, *Severus* longed to attack the King of the *Atreni*, and penetrate into the Country of the *Parthians*: Becauſe both theſe Powers had aſſiſted *Niger* in the War. But this he deferred till a more convenient Opportunity; thinking it beſt, firſt to bring over and confirm the whole *Roman* Empire in a cloſe Adherence to himſelf and his Children. For *Niger* being diſpatch'd, the only Obſtacle that remained in his way was *Albinus*, who, he heard, began to aſſume a regal Grandeur, puffed up with the honourable Title of *Cæſar*; and, what he moſt diſliked, he was informed, the principal Members of the Senate had ſent him private Letters, inviting him to come to *Rome*, while *Severus* was abſent and taken up with other Affairs. For all the Patricians preferred *Albinus* to the other, inaſmuch as he was deſcended of a noble Family, and had the Character of a mild and well-natur'd Man. This though *Severus* greatly reſented, yet he declined attacking the Man immediately in a public War, as he had no plauſible Excuſe for an open Rupture; but reſolved to uſe a piece of Policy, and attempt to take him out of the way by Treachery. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he ſends ſome

ſome of the Couriers, whoſe Office was to carry the public Diſpatches of the Emperors, and whom he knew hearty in his Intereſt, with Letters to *Albinus*, giving them ſecret Orders, to deliver the Letters in public, but watch an Opportunity to acquaint him, that they had Advices of a more ſecret Concern to communicate to him from *Severus*, and beg they might have the Liberty of ſpeaking to him in private; which if he granted, when his Guards were ordered to withdraw, they ſhould immediately fall upon him and kill him. He likewiſe gave them poiſonous Drugs, with Inſtructions to tempt ſome of his Cooks or Cup-bearers to mix them with his Victuals, or infuſe them ſecretly into his Drink. For his Friends always ſuſpected *Severus's* Integrity, and were continually reminding *Albinus* to be very cautious how he treated with ſo perfidious a Perſon, who was capable of deviſing and executing every kind of Treachery. This Character they gathered from his late Behaviour to *Niger's* Officers; whoſe Children he held in Cuſtody, as we have mentioned above; and after he had prevail'd upon them to betray their Prince, and do every thing as he inſtructed, when he got the whole Power into his own Hands, he baſely murthered both them and their Children. Thus he diſcovered the Inſincerity of his Mind by his Actions; which made *Albinus* keep a greater Number of Guards about his Perſon, and not ſuffer any of *Severus's* Meſſengers to come into his preſence, till their Swords were taken from them, and their Boſoms ſearched for any Weapon that might be concealed under their Clothes.

Albinus discovers the Plot, and declares War with *Severus*.

When the Couriers arrived, and had delivered their Diſpatches in public, and deſired him to retire into a private Apartment, for that they had ſomething of moment to impart to him in ſecret, *Albinus*, ſuſpecting the Treachery, ordered them to be ſeized; and having put them to the Tortures, and by ſeparate Examinations got an open Confeſſion of the whole Plot, he puniſhed the Miniſters of it with Death, and immediately declared War againſt the Author.

When *Severus* was informed of what had happened, as he was a Perſon of a very paſſionate fiery Spirit, he no longer concealed his Hatred to *Albinus*; but having aſſembled his whole Army together, he delivered himſelf to them in Words to this purport.

Speech of *Severus* againſt *Albinus*.

"Let no one, from a retroſpect View of my "paſt Actions, charge me with Levity or Raſh-"neſs; nor judge me now faithleſs and incon-"ſiderate towards him I once eſteemed my "Friend. I have ever treated him with all the "Demonſtrations of a ſincere Affection, even to "the admitting him a Partner in my Throne; "an Act of ſuch uncommon Generoſity, that "you will hardly find a ſimilar Inſtance between "the deareſt and moſt affectionate Brothers. "That imperial ſovereign Power, which you "thought proper to lodge in my Hands, I "condeſcended to ſhare with him. For theſe "great Favours, ſo unworthily heap'd upon *Al-*"*binus*, he has made the moſt ungrateful Re-"turns. He is now taking up Arms, and col-"lecting Forces againſt us; at once diſcover-"ing, how contemptible an Opinion he enter-"tains of your Valour; how little he regards "his own Faith towards me; and what un-

"bounded

" bounded Ambition prompts him to attempt
" the engroſſing that whole Power, through ma-
" nifeſt Hazard, the part of which he enjoyed
" without War, and without Battle. Thus he
" deſpiſes the Juſtice of the Gods by whom he
" has ſworn; is unconcerned at all the Toils
" you have gloriouſly and virtuouſly born for
" our Sakes; the good Fruits of which he has
" already received in part; and might have
" ſtill expected a larger Share, had he conti-
" nued faithful in preſerving that Honour, by
" you conferred both on him and me. But as
" it is unjuſt to be the Authors of evil Actions;
" ſo to bear them tamely, without puniſhing the
" Aggreſſor, is the part of a Coward, and not
" a Man. When we engaged in a War with
" *Niger*, our Hoſtility was not ſo much ground-
" ed on Injuries as Neceſſity. We did not hate
" him for ſtealing a Power, of which we had
" the prior Poſſeſſion; but Fortune had ſtaked
" a Crown in the midſt, and each Competitor
" ſtruggled for the Prize with a laudable Emu-
" lation. But *Albinus*, breaking through all
" the Ties of Leagues, of Oaths, of ſuch Kind-
" neſſes heap'd upon him by me, as only Pa-
" rents beſtow on their Children, prefers En-
" mity to Friendſhip, and chuſes to be an E-
" nemy to us, rather than one of the ſame Fa-
" mily. As therefore we have honoured him with
" our Favours, and inveſted him with Glories
" he never deſerved; ſo let us now, by the
" Force of our Arms, convict his Falſhood,
" and expoſe his Weakneſs. For his feeble Ar-
" my, compoſed only of a few raw Iſlanders,
" will never be able to ſuſtain the firſt Attack
" of your Reſentment. Is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe

" that you, who all alone, and unſupported by
" any thing but your own unparallel'd Valour,
" gained ſo many glorious Victories, and re-
" duced all the Nations of the Eaſt to ſubjec-
" tion, can, when joined by ſuch ſtrong Rein-
" forcements (for we have with us almoſt the
" whole *Roman* Power) fail to conquer and
" chaſtiſe an inconſiderable Number of Men,
" under the Command of a General endowed
" with neither Courage, Conduct, nor even
" common Sobriety? For who knows not his
" luxurious way of living, more ſuitable to a
" Keeper of Swine, than a Leader of Soldiers?
" Let us go then againſt him with unanimous
" Conſent and Alacrity; having the Gods for
" our Auxiliaries, whoſe ſacred Authority his
" Perjuries have violated; and remembring thoſe
" Trophies we have ſo often raiſed for Victo-
" ries, which he has the Inſolence and Folly to
" contemn."

When he had ſpoken to them in this manner, the Soldiers all, with one Voice, exclaim'd, *Albinus* was an Enemy; and, with loud Shouts and Applauſes, ſignified their Approbation of the War, and their Readineſs to undergo any Difficulties for *Severus*; who conceived the ſtrongeſt Hopes of Succeſs from their Alacrity, and, after diſtributing very large Donatives amongſt them, begins his March againſt *Albinus*.

Byzantium deſtroyed.

At the ſame time he detaches a ſtrong Body to lay Siege to *Byzantium*. For that City ſtill remained ſhut up; and *Niger's* Officers had fled thither after the laſt Overthrow. It was taken at laſt by Famine, and demoliſhed. The Theatres, public Baths, and every Building of Ornament

nament or Grandeur was deſtroyed, and *Byzantium* reduced to an open Village; and the Inhabitants given to the *Perinthians* for Slaves, as they of *Antioch* had been to the *Laodiceans*. He likewiſe ſent great Sums of Money to repair the Cities which *Niger's* Army had deſtroyed.

But himſelf proceeded in his March againſt *Albinus*, ſparing no Labour, nor regarding Holy-days; equally deſpiſing Cold and Heat. Often times he puſh'd his way over cold and high Mountains, marching bare-headed amidſt ſevere Sleets and Snows, exciting Alacrity and Fortitude in the Soldiers by his own Example. So that they endured the Hardſhips, not only from a Motive of Fear or Duty, but to emulate the exemplary Courage of their bold and enterprizing Sovereign: Who likewiſe diſpatched a ſtrong Party to the *Alps*, to occupy the Defiles of thoſe Mountains, and ſecure their Entrance into *Italy*.

All this time *Albinus* was indulging himſelf in Security and Pleaſure: But when he received the News of *Severus's* near Approach, it put him into great Confuſion. However, he embark'd his Forces with all poſſible Expedition, and landed on the Coaſt of *Gaul*, oppoſite to *Britain*; where he encamped, and diſpatched circular Letters to all the neighbouring Nations, commanding their reſpective Governors to raiſe the neceſſary Contributions of Money and Proviſions for the Army. Theſe Orders ſome of them complied with, to their own Deſtruction (for they afterwards felt the fatal Effects of *Severus's* Reſentment) others refuſed, and by good Fortune, rather than Foreſight, were ſaved for

their Diſobedience: For Chance and the Event of the War determined the good or bad Policy of the Parties.

The Battle at *Lyons*, where *Albinus* is kill'd.

Several Skirmiſhes happened in different Places, as ſoon as *Severus's* Troops came into *Gaul*; but the deciſive Stroke was given near *Lyons*, a great and flouriſhing City; from which *Albinus* ſent out his Forces to take the Field, but remained himſelf within the Walls. The Action was bloody and obſtinate; Victory long remained doubtful; and either Party ſeem'd to have met their Match. For the *Britons* are nothing inferior to the *Illyrians* in Valour and Fierceneſs. In this hardy Conflict between two ſuch powerful Armies, the Fortune of the Field was not eaſily decided. And, as the Writers of thoſe Times relate (at leaſt ſuch of them as had greater regard to Truth than Intereſt in their Hiſtories) the main Body of *Albinus's* Army had much the Advantage: For *Severus* was repulſed, and the whole Corps under his Command entirely routed; himſelf flying with Precipitation fell from his Horſe, and was obliged to throw off his Imperial Robe, the better to conceal his Perſon. But the victorious *Britons*, purſuing the Foe, and rejoicing with loud Ovations at their Succeſs, a ſtrong Body of freſh Forces came up, under the Command of *Lætus*, *Severus's* General; who, as they report, had deſignedly ſtaid behind with his Corps, to watch the Event of the Battle; and as ſoon as he heard *Severus* was beaten, advanced with his freſh Forces to charge the Victor-Army, and regain the Empire, not for *Severus*, but himſelf. And, indeed, the enſuing Circumſtances ſeemed to confirm this Report: For afterwards, when *Severus*

verus had gained the Victory, and settled every thing according to his Wish, he liberally rewarded all his other Officers for their good Services, but put *Lætus* to Death, probably as a Punishment for his intended Treason. But not to anticipate my Story, *Lætus*, appearing with his new Reinforcement, gave *Severus's* Soldiers fresh Spirits. *Severus* was remounted on his Horse, and array'd again in his Imperial Robe. *Albinus's* Soldiers, thinking the Victory completely gained, had broken their Order, and were too inconsiderately pursuing the Enemy; when all on a sudden, this additional Body of fresh Troops came up, and charged them so vigorously, that after a short Resistance they were obliged to give way [b]. The whole Face of Affairs was now altered: *Severus's* Troops pursued the late Victors quite to the City, cutting to pieces all they overtook. The Number

[b] *Dio* very differently relates this Affair; and, indeed, with greater Verisimilitude. He tells us, that *Lætus* kept aloof with his Corps, to see what would be the Event of the Battle: But when he saw *Severus* rally his Troops, and return to the Charge with fresh Vigour, he then advanced with the Forces under his Command, as fearing the Effects of *Severus's* Resentment; who, contrary to his Hopes, he found, was likely to gain the Victory. Concerning the first Repulse, he asserts, that the Right Wing of *Severus's* Army was broken and put to flight; which *Severus* observing, flew with the Pretorian Cohorts to their Assistance; but he adds, Τοσούτου δὲ ἐδέησεν αὐτοὺς ὠφελῆσαι, ὥστε καὶ δορυφόρους ὀλίγου δεῖν προσαπώλεσε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀποβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσεν· ὡς δὲ εἶδεν φεύγοντας πάντας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν χλαμύδα περιῤῥηξάμενος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος εἰς τοὺς φεύγοντας εἰσεπήδησε. *So far was he from helping them, that he was very near losing all his Life-Guards; and himself, having dismounted from his Horse, was in the utmost Danger: But when he found his whole Army routed, he tears his Robe, and, with his drawn Sword, springs in upon them as they were flying.*

of the Kill'd, Wounded, and Priſoners, is vague, and varies according to the Fancy or Prejudice of the Hiſtorians of that Time. *Severus's* Men plunder'd and burnt the City *Lyons*, ſeized *Albinus*, and having taken off his Head, carried it to *Severus*. Thus they raiſed the Trophies of two great Victories; the one gained over the Nations of the Eaſt, and this, ſo ſoon after, obtained in the North. • • •

Severus compared with former Generals.

Here I cannot but remark, that we ſhall hardly find the Atchievements of *Severus* parallel'd in Hiſtory; whether we conſider the Multitude of the Forces, the Commotions of the Nations, the Number of his Battles; or the Length, Difficulty, and Expedition, of his Marches. The Battles of *Cæſar* againſt *Pompey*, when, on both Sides, the Military Power of the *Romans* was engaged; thoſe of *Auguſtus* againſt *Mark Anthony*, and the Sons of *Pompey*; or, to go further back, the ſharp and bloody Conteſts, both of the *Romans* and other Nations, in the Civil Wars between *Sylla* and *Marius*; all theſe, we muſt own, were great and wonderful: But for one Man to depoſe and cut off three Princes, already inveſted with Imperial Power; to circumvent, by a cunning Stratagem, a whole Army at *Rome*; to diſpatch one of thoſe Princes in his own Imperial Palace; to overthrow another at a Time when he was Maſter of all the Eaſt, and ſaluted Emperor by the *Romans*; and to vanquiſh a third, great not only in the Name, but the Power of *Cæſar*; theſe are Succeſſes hard to be match'd, and ſuch as Fortune ſeem'd to have reſerved for *Severus* only. But to proceed.

Such

Such was the End *Albinus* met; after enjoying a Dignity of fatal Conſequence, and of ſhort Duration. After his Death, *Severus* entertain'd a vindictive and implacable Spirit towards all his Friends; and ſending his Head to *Rome*, he ordered it to be ſtuck up publicly on a Pole; and in the Letter he wrote to acquaint the People of his Victory, he adds at the Bottom, "That he ſent the Head to be ſtuck up in "public View, that they might look on that "Spectacle of his Wrath; and ſee, in the Ex-"ample of *Albinus*, what his other Enemies "might ſhortly expect."

Soon after, when he had ſettled Matters in *Britain*, and given the Adminiſtration of Affairs there to two Governors; and had order'd every thing in *Gaul* as he thought proper; having put to Death all who had favour'd *Albinus*, whether voluntarily or by Compulſion, and confiſcated their Effects, he haſtens to *Rome*; taking with him all his Army, in order to ſtrike the greater Terror. He march'd, as was his Cuſtom, with incredible Expedition, breathing Reſentment and Rage againſt all the ſurviving Friends of *Albinus*. In this furious manner he rode into the City; where the People received him with Laurels, and all other poſſible Demonſtrations of Honour; and the whole Senate addreſſed him with Titles of Homage; though the greateſt Part conceived the moſt dreadful Apprehenſions of his Anger, expecting little Mercy from one, whoſe Nature, they knew, was cruel and vindictive to the laſt degree; who loved to do Miſchief upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions; and was now not unfurniſh'd with plauſible Excuſes. A.D. 195.

After

Severus indulges the Soldiers in Luxury.

After viſiting the Temple of *Jupiter*, and finiſhing the other accuſtomed Sacrifices, he retires to the Palace; and there appoints magnificent Congiaries for the People on account of his Victories; and large Donatives to be diſtributed to his Soldiers; to whom he granted many other Gratifications they had never received before: For he firſt augmented their Allowance of Corn; permitted them to wear Gold Rings, and to cohabit with their Wives. All which Indulgences were reckoned very improper to render an Army vigilant, active, and ready for War. He was the firſt that enervated their Strength, corrupted their hardy Living, made them obey Orders of Difficulty with Reluctance, ſubverted their Diſcipline, deſtroyed all Reverence to their Superiors, taught them Avarice and Robbery, and quite reduced them to Luxury and Wantonneſs.

His Cruelty and Avarice.

After he had ordered every thing as he thought proper, he goes to the Senate-houſe, and being ſeated on the Imperial Throne, delivers a bitter Accuſation againſt the Favourers of *Albinus*; producing ſome of their ſecret Letters, found in his 'Scritoires after his Death. Some he accuſed with having ſent him too valuable Preſents; to others he objected their Familiarity with ſeveral Perſons of Note in the Eaſt; ſome were charged, among other things, with too cloſe an Acquaintance with *Albinus*; in a word, varying the Indictments, ſo as every Circumſtance might appear in a clearer colour of Probability, he found Occaſion to put to Death all the principal Members of the Senate, and every one of extraordinary Wealth and Diſtinction in the ſeveral Nations under his Juriſdiction.

diction. His Excuſe for all this Barbarity was, that he only executed his juſt Reſentment on his Enemies; but the real Motive was, his exceſſive Avarice; to which no King before him was ever ſo much a Slave. For as he was inferior to none of the moſt illuſtrious Princes, in Courage, Fortitude, Perſeverance in Labours, and military Skill; ſo he exceeded them all in Greedineſs of Riches, and Thirſt after Blood, which he loved to ſhed even upon the moſt frivolous Occaſions. Thus he choſe Fear, rather than Benevolence, for the Baſis of his Government: And yet took care to gratify the Inclinations of the Populace, by exhibiting all kinds of expenſive and magnificent Shews; at ſome of which were ſlain ſeveral hundreds of wild Beaſts, the Breed of our own and foreign Countries. His Largeſſes were frequent and profuſe. He inſtituted a very grand and pompous Trial of Skill on account of his Victories; at which were preſent the beſt Performers of dramatic, muſical, and athletic Exerciſes, ſent for from all the Countries near or remote.

In his Time we ſaw certain [c] Games, exhibiting Spectacles of every ſort in all the Theatres Secular Games. A.D. 199.

[c] There is hardly any thing in Antiquity more obſcure and perplex'd, than the Accounts of the *Inſtitution*, *Period*, and *Name* of the *Secular Games*.

Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. c. 4. tells a long Story of their *Inſtitution*; the Subſtance of which is; That a Countryman among the *Sabines*, in the Time of a Plague, being ordered, by a Voice, to carry his two Sons and a Daughter, who were at the point of Death, down the River *Tiber*, and cheriſh them with warm Water at the Altar of *Dis* (or *Pluto*) and *Proſerpine* at *Tarentum*, after ſome Reluctance, takes the three Children on board a Veſſel, and lands at a Place, near the *Campus Martius*, call'd *Terentum*. The Father

at once; together with thoſe ſacred nocturnal Rites performed in imitation of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries. Theſe Games the Men of thoſe times

ther warms ſome Water, and gives it to his ſick Children; who upon drinking it fell into a Sleep, and awaked in good Health. *Valeſius* (for that was the Countryman's Name) having found an Altar, twenty feet under ground, inſcribed to *Dis* and *Proſerpine*, performs the *Black Sacrifices* to theſe infernal Deities, purſuant to the Orders of a Viſion ſeen by the Children in their Sleep; and after the Sacrifices were finiſhed, buries the Altar again in the Ground. The Author goes on to relate, that *Valerius Poplicola*, one of the firſt Conſuls of *Rome*, in the Year of the City (according to *Livy* and *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*) 245, ſacrificed on the ſame Altar to *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*, in order to deliver the People from the Peſtilence; and inſtituted ſacred nocturnal Games for three Nights, after the Example of the Countryman, who had equall'd the Number of Nights to that of his Children. *Zoſimus*, lib. ii. *in principio*, tells the ſame Story with ſome Variation; but will have the Sacrifices of the Countryman to have been performed many Years before the Games of *Valerius*. All we can gather from theſe dark fabulous Accounts is, that the Cuſtom was ſo old, that the *Romans* themſelves were ignorant of the Cauſe and End of it's Inſtitution. Nor is this to be wonder'd at; ſince there is the ſame Uncertainty with regard to ſeveral *Chriſtian* Feſtivals; the ancient Popes, and Fathers of the Church, according to their different Fancies, rejecting old Feaſts, introducing new, and often altering one for another.

First time of their Celebration, A. U. 245.

The *Period* of the Secular Games, or the Revolution of Years between their Returns, is as uncertain as their Inſtitution. 'Tis plain, the *Romans* thought they were intended to be celebrated but once in the ſame Generation of Men. For when they were proclaimed, the *Præco*, or *Crier*, invited the People to come to Games, *Quos nec ſpectaſſet quiſquam, nec ſpectaturus eſſet*; *Which none of them had ſeen, nor would* again *ſee*. *Zoſimus* fixes the ſecond time of their Celebration in the Year of the City 352, when *Marcus Potitus* was the fourth time Conſul. But *Livy* gives us not a word of them in that Conſulate. Nor, indeed, do I remember to have met with any plain Mention of them in any part of *Livy's* Hiſtory that is now extant. *Florus* (or whoever

Second time, A. U. 352.

call'd *Secular*, being told, that they were to be celebrated once in three Ages. Heralds were therefore diſpatch'd through all *Rome* and *Italy*,

ſoever is the Author of the *Epitome* to *Livy's* 49th Book) mentions the Games at *Terentum* celebrated to *Father Dis* in the Year of the City 501. This was 148 Years after the ſecond time. The ſame *Epitomiſt* ſpeaks of them there, as celebrated 100 Years after, *viz.* A. U. 601. which can be but their fourth Celebration. If they were repeated between this time and that of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, to make his Period anſwer the 110 Years quoted by *Horace* and *Zoſimus* from the *Sibylline* Verſes, it muſt be in the Year of *Rome* 627, but twenty-ſix Years after the former. But 'tis more reaſonable to think they were omitted; becauſe *Suetonius*, in *Auguſt.* c. 31. reckons them among other antiquated Cuſtoms which *Auguſtus* reſtored. The ſame Author obſerves, in *Claud.* c. 21. that *Claudius*, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, expreſsly ſays, they had been intermitted, and were reduced again to their proper Period by *Auguſtus*. This Emperor celebrated them in the Year of the City 737, according to *Dio*, about fifteen Years before *Chriſt*. Sixty-three Years after this, *Tacitus* tells us, Annal. xi. c. 11. *Claudius* repeated them; but the Reaſon of his doing it after ſo ſhort a Space, the Hiſtorian ſays he had given in his Hiſtory of *Domitian's* Reign: When they were again celebrated; and *Tacitus* himſelf was a *Quindecimvir*, one of the *fifteen* Perſons appointed to inſpect the Books of the *Sibylls*, and manage the Solemnity according to their Interpretations of theſe Oracles. But Time has deprived us of that part of *Tacitus's* Works, that contained the promiſed Account. *Suetonius* relates, that *Claudius* thought them anticipated by *Auguſtus*, and that his was the proper Year for their Celebration. For 799 Years being then elapſed ſince the building of *Rome*, 'tis probable, *Claudius* judg'd, they ought to be repeated at the Cloſe of every Century; and therefore made choice of the 800th Year for their proper Period. After him *Domitian*, as we before obſerved, celebrated the Secular Games in the Year of the City 841, about forty Years after thoſe of *Claudius*. *Severus* was the next that had them celebrated, 110 Years afterwards, *viz.* in the Year of *Rome* 951, which are the Games our Author here mentions. But the Account he gives of them is ſo very dark and abrupt, his Words ſo obſcure,

Third time, A. U. 501.

Fourth time, A. U. 601.

Fifth time, A. U. 737.

Sixth time, A. U. 800.

Seventh time A. U. 841.

Eighth time A. U. 951.

and

ſummoning the People to come and be Spectators of Things they never had ſeen before, nor would again ſee; ſince the intermediate Space

and their Conſtruction ſo uncouth, that I am perſuaded the Copies are mutilated (as are thoſe of *Zoſimus* on the ſame Subject) and that *Herodian* was talking of their Inſtitution: Otherwiſe I cannot conceive why he ſhould ſay, they were call'd *Secular* in *Severus's* Time, as if the Name were not given them long before; nor why he ſhould chuſe to call the Men of his own Age, οἱ τότε, *Thoſe who lived then.*

Ninth time, A. U. 1001. The laſt time (at leaſt that can be depended on) I read of the Celebration of theſe Games, is in the Reign of *Philip*, 1000 Years from the building the City, and fifty after thoſe of *Severus*. Though even this is denied by *Zoſimus*; who ſays, they were never repeated after the Time of *Severus*; and therefore he imputes the Declenſion of the *Roman* Power, and all the Calamities which befel the State under the *Chriſtian* Emperors, to the Neglect of the Secular Games; on which the Welfare and Security of the Empire depended. Nor, indeed, does *Eutropius* ſay, the Games of the *Philips* were the Secular; but only, that in the Reign of theſe Emperors, *The Thouſandth Year of* Rome *was celebrated with a magnificent Apparatus of Games and Spectacles.* Which *Julius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor* expreſsly call the *Secular Games*.

From all theſe various Periods it appears, the *Romans* did not tie themſelves to any fixt Number of Years for the Celebration of theſe Games. *Horace*, in one of his *Secular Songs* compoſed for this Solemnity in the Time of *Auguſtus*, ſeems to make the Period 110 Years. But the ſame Poet hints, the Books of the *Sibylls* commanded them to be celebrated at that Time by *Auguſtus*. His Words are,

Tempore ſacro,	What time the *Sibylls* Books adviſe,
Quo Sibyllini monuere verſus	That Virgins fair and virtuous Boys
Virgines lectas, puerоſque caſtos	Should hymn the Gods, our Guards from Ills,
Diis, quibus ſeptem placuere colles,	The Gods, who love the ſeven Hills.
Dicere carmen.	

The next thing to be conſidered is, why they were call'd *Secular*; which if we can find out, it will give us ſome Light into their Origin: For the *Names* of religious Feaſts commonly bear ſome Alluſion to the End for which they were inſtituted. The *Latin* Word *Seculum, an Age*, may come either *a ſecando, from cutting*, or *ſequendo, following*;

between the Celebration of the preſent, and the Revolution of the enſuing Feaſt, far exceeded the longeſt Period of human Life.

following; it being a *Diviſion*, or *Succeſſion* of Times. Or it will amount to much the ſame, if we ſay, with *Varro*, 'tis derived *a ſeneſcendo, from waxing old*; and is uſed to ſignify the whole Duration of any thing to which it is applied. When relative to Man, the Term is very vague, according to the different Opinions of Writers. *Varro*, de ling *Lat.* lib. v. *Feſtus*, lib. xvii. and *Cenſorius*, de die Nat. lib. vi. make it 100 Years: And *Ovid*, Metam. l. xii. Fab. iv. in alluſion to *Homer's* δύο γενεαὶ—ἀνθρώπων (Iliad. i.) *Two Generations of Men*, makes *Neſtor* ſay; *Vixi annos bis ſeptem; nunc tertia vivitur ætas. I have lived two hundred Years; and am now living the third Age.* The learned *Turnebus* is ſo much of this Opinion, that he thinks, *Seculum* was derived from ἑκατὸν, *an hundred*. Other Authors (of whom *Herodian* ſeems to be one) will have that Space to contain three Ages, as if an Age was not quite thirty four Years. Be this as it will, I am of opinion, the Epithet *Secular* was given theſe Games, not ſo much to denote any certain Term of Years, in which they were to return, as to intimate, that they were to invoke the Gods for the Preſervation of the *Roman* State from *Age to Age*; or, according to the Phraſe of one of their own Writers, *cum* ÆTERNITATE *mundi, with the* ETERNITY *of the World. Herodian* calls them αἰωνίους; which is the Word the *Engliſh* Tranſlators of the *New Teſtament* render *Everlaſting*, in ſtrict Propriety *Secular*, or *Age-laſting*: For the *Engliſh* Particle, *Ever*, manifeſtly comes from the *ævum* of the *Latins*, that is the *Greek* αἰών, *an Age*. From *ævum* the *Latins* form'd *ætas*, or, as we find it in *Cicero*, *ævitas*; from whence comes *æviternitas*, or, contracted, *æternitas*, *Eternity*, a kind of Series or Aſſemblage of *Ages*. And 'tis worth obſerving, that we Mortals cannot find any Words to expreſs a Duration longer than the Term of particular finite Beings. For if we ſay, *eternal*, or *everlaſting*, 'tis plain, from what has been ſaid, we cannot get off from the Idea of *an Age*. If we expreſs it negatively by, *ſine fine, without End, infinitum, Infinite, Never*, i. e. *no Ever*, we ſtill expreſs the very Term we would avoid; and our Idea (if we have any) immediately lays hold on that Term, and in all beyond is preſently loſt. Of this Authors have been

Severus's Expedition to the East.

When he had ſpent ſome Time at *Rome*, and had taken his Sons as Partners with him in the Sovereignty, and declared them Emperors; unbeen well aware; and have therefore endeavour'd, but in vain, to help it by Multiplication of Terms, ſuch as; εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *in ſecula ſeculorum, aux ſiecles des ſiecles*; *For Ages of Ages, or for ever and ever.* The *Latins* particularly have endeavoured to ſtretch their Ideas, and tack Words together to expreſs them by. Thus *Terence* makes uſe of *Sempiternus*, from *Semper*, and *æternus*; and *Plautus* expreſſes *Eternity* by *omne ætas*, *every Age*. In the *Old Teſtament*, *Age* or *Ever*, is expreſſed by עלם. Thus what we tranſlate, *It ſhall be a Statute for ever*, is in the Original, חק עלם, *The Statute of an Age*; intimating, the Ceremony ſhall not be once uſed and then aboliſhed, but it ſhall remain a fixt Cuſtom in your State for ever. The *Hebrews* always expreſs *Age* or *Eternity* by Words coming from Roots that imply Obſcurity, Superiority, or Prevention: עלם ſignifies to *be hid*, נצח *to overcome*, קדם *to outſtrip* or *go beyond*; as if the Word ETERNITY *outſtrip'd* us, or left our Ideas ſhort. And when they ſpeak of God, they often uſe the Particle עד *Ad*, *Unto*, to ſignify Eternity, as in *Iſaiah*, lvii. 15. רם ונשא שכן עד, *The high and lofty* [One] *that inhabits* UNTO: As if he had ſaid, *Unto* what Men can have no Idea of. But to reſume.

The Secular Games were as ſacred among the *Romans*, as the *Eleuſinia*, or myſtic Rites of *Ceres*, were in *Greece*. That they were inſtituted to pray for the Eternity of their State, appears not only from their Name, but the Manner of their Celebration. After the Sacrifices performed, firſt in the *Campus Martius* to the Infernal *Deſtinies*, on whom the Stability of all human Affairs was ſuppoſed to depend, and then to the other Gods, the Theatrical Sports were held, in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*, to whom theſe Games were principally dedicated; and in their Temples the Boys ſang Hymns in honour of the former, and the Girls of the latter. For theſe two Deities, *viz.* the Sun, and the Moon, preſiding over the Day and the Night, by the alternate Revolutions of which all Time, or Age is meaſured, the *Romans* chiefly implored their Protection for the Perpetuity of their Empire. Yet did they not exclude the reſt of the Gods from ſharing in the religious Honours. But

as

ſatisfied with the Honour of Victories obtained in Civil Wars, and over *Roman* Armies, for which he was even aſhamed to triumph; he re-

as the Churches of *Rome* and *England* have Feſtivals appropriated to particular Saints, and one, named *All-Saints*, to comprehend the whole Hierarchy; ſo the ancient *Romans*, beſides their Feaſts to particular Gods, held this univerſal Solemnity in honour of all the tutelar Deities of *Rome* at once; to implore, as it were, their united Power to perpetuate their Empire, and as *Horace*, in the *Secular Song*, expreſſes it; *Meliuſque ſemper proroget* ÆVUM, *Continue every* AGE *better and better.*

Upon the whole, the beſt Account of the *Secular Games* ſeems to be this: That they were Solemnities *inſtituted* in the third Century after the building of the City; to be repeated in different *Generations*, at ſuch *Periods*, as their Governors and Prieſts judged proper from the Situation of their Affairs, and the Orders of the *Sibylline* and other Oracles; and that all the Gods of their Country, eſpecially the *Sun* and *Moon*, were to be invoked at theſe Periods, and prayed to continue the *Roman* Power to ETERNITY.

I cannot diſmiſs this Subject without giving the *Engliſh* Reader a Tranſlation of thoſe Verſes of the *Sibylls*, as they are delivered down by *Zoſimus* (who lived in the Time of the Emperor *Honorius*, about 400 Years after *Chriſt*) becauſe they contain a full and particular Deſcription of the ſeveral Ceremonies obſerved at the Celebration of the Secular Games, and a clear Account of the End for which they were inſtituted.

But ſoon as Years revolve elev'n times ten,
(The longeſt Life allow'd the Sons of Men)
Remember, *Roman*, who thy Friends have been,
Nor let Oblivion lull thee into Sin.
To all the Gods be grateful Victims ſlain,
Where ſwelling *Tyber* laves the ſacred Plain,
What time the Night contracts her ſhorteſt Shade,
And *Sol* in Weſtern Waters hides his Head.
Firſt to the *Fates*, who from the Deep proceed,
Let Lambs and Goats, of duſky Blackneſs, bleed:
Propitiate next, as holy Rites ordain,
The fair *Lucinæ*, lovely, genial Train!
From whoſe kind Pow'r the Breeds of Nature come,
And full-form'd Infants force the teeming Womb.

ſolved to attempt ſome foreign Conqueſt, and raiſe Trophies againſt the Barbarians. Accordingly he ſets out on an Expedition to the Eaſt againſt *Barſemius* King of the *Atreni*, grounding his Quarrel on the Aſſiſtance that Monarch had given *Niger*. When he came to the Frontiers of *Armenia*, he deſigned to pour in his Troops, and ſcour the Country; but was prevented by the King of the *Armenians*, who ſent him large

To Parent *Earth*, who feeds and nurtures All,
A well-fed Hog, and ſable Sow muſt fall.
Give *Jove* his milk-white Bulls; but not by Night:
For Pow'rs celeſtial love the Works of Light.
Then to the Altars of the *Queen of Heaven*
Be comely Cows, and Beeves unblemiſh'd driven.
The like juſt Honours be to *Phœbus* done,
Latona's Offspring, call'd by Men *The Sun*.
Let chearful Crowds the ſacred Temples throng;
And praiſe th' immortal Pow'rs in grateful Song.
While beauteous Boys and Girls, in parted Trains
Reſound alternate with reſponſive Strains;
Fair, blooming Choirs! whom no Misfortunes grieve;
Whoſe Friends all flouriſh, and whoſe Parents live.
Let all the Matrons, bound in Marriage-tie,
At *Juno's* Altars prone and proſtrate lie;
For both the Sexes put forth pious Pray'r:
But move the Goddeſs moſt to guard the Fair.
This ſolemn Day unlock thy choiceſt Stores;
And bring forth Firſt-fruits to th' immortal Pow'rs.
The treaſur'd Tributes ſhall thy Welcome prove
With ſubterranean Gods, and Gods above.
Within whoſe ſacred Seats promiſcuous meet:
Both Males and Females join the jovial Treat.
By Day, by Night, frequent each bleſt Abode;
And every Mortal be the Gueſt of God.
No dull Diſguiſe, no forc'd affected Air:
Be gay, be ſerious; mingle Mirth with Care.
Now, *Roman*, go; perform thy deſtin'd Part,
And grave theſe uſeful Precepts in thy Heart.
Then *Italy*, and *Latium*, ſhall obey;
And *Rome* ſhall rule with EVERLASTING Sway.

Sums of Money, and other valuable Preſents, beſeeching *Severus* to accept him as an Ally, promiſing inviolable Faith and Amity; to ratify which, Hoſtages were ſent at the ſame time with the Preſents. As ſoon as he had ſettled every thing with the *Armenian* according to his Deſire, he advances immediately againſt the *Atreni*. Upon his March, *Augarus* King of the *Oſrhoëni* fled over to him, bringing his Sons for Hoſtages of his Faith, and a great number of Archers as Auxiliaries. *Severus*, having paſſed through all *Meſopotamia* and *Adiabene*, makes a Deſcent upon *Arabia the Happy*, ſo call'd from its abounding in odorous Herbs, and all the rich Spices and Perfumes which we make uſe of. Here he ſacks many Villages and Cities, lays waſte the Country round about; then penetrates the Frontiers of the *Atreni*, and ſets down before *Atræ*, a City ſituated on the Summit of a very high Mountain, ſurrounded by a ſtrong Wall, and garriſon'd with a great multitude of expert Archers.

Siege of *Atræ*.

• *Severus's* Army inveſted the Place; and carried on their Operations with the utmoſt Ardour, reſolved, if poſſible, to reduce it. No kind of Works was omitted; Engines of every ſort were vigorouſly applied to the Walls, which the Beſieged, on the other hand, as bravely defended; ſending Showers of Arrows and Stones from the Eminences, which greatly annoyed the Enemy; and throwing down a ſort of earthen Veſſels, fill'd with little venomous winged Creatures; which lighting on their Faces, or any other naked part of the Body, and creeping under their Clothes, ſtung the Soldiers, and inflicted Wounds not only painful

but dangerous. This Plague was ſeconded by another: For the *Romans*, unable to bear the thick unwholſome Air, occaſioned by the exceſſive Heat in thoſe Parts, were ſeized with a contagious Diſtemper, that carried off greater Numbers than the Hand of the Enemy. Afflicted with all theſe complicated Evils, the *Roman* Soldiers were very languid and tardy in their Operations, and rather loſt ground than advanced; ſo that *Severus* was obliged to raiſe the Siege, and draw off his Forces, before they all periſhed. The Army was ſadly dejected at this Diſappointment; and being hitherto accuſtom'd to carry all they attempted, they now look'd upon themſelves as conquered, becauſe they had fail'd to conquer.

Cteſiphon taken by Surprize.

But Fortune, *Severus's* ready Patroneſs, ſoon comforted them; and they were ſo far from returning home with nothing done, that they effected greater Things than they hoped. For the whole Army being embarked in a numerous Fleet, and bound for the *Roman* Coaſts; a ſtrong adverſe Current forced the Veſſels from their deſtin'd Courſe, and drove them upon a Part of *Parthia*, diſtant but a few days Journey from *Cteſiphon*, the royal City of the *Parthians*; where the King then reſided in a State of Peace, quite unconcern'd at the Quarrels of *Severus* with the *Atreni*; which he ſuppoſed could no ways affect him; and therefore was unprovided, as he thought he had nothing to fear. Nor had *Severus* any Deſign to land on his Coaſt, before he was driven thither by the Rapidity of the Current. But upon his Arrival he immediately debarks his Forces, makes an Incurſion upon the Country, lays waſte the Fields,

Fields, ſeizes all the Cattle he meets, for the Subſiſtence of the Army, and ſets fire to every Village in his Way. Advancing in this hoſtile manner, he came in a ſhort time to *Cteſiphon*; where was the great King *Artabanus*. The *Romans*, as they had come upon the Barbarians thus unprepared, put all they met to the Sword, and, having plunder'd the City, carried away the Children and Women captive. The King fled with a few Horſe, leaving behind him the royal Treaſures of Money, rich Furniture, and other very valuable Effects; which all fell into the Hands of the *Romans*. Thus *Severus* was honoured with a Victory over the *Parthians*; which was rather a Gift of Fortune, than the Effect of Counſel. However, having gain'd Succeſs ſo far exceeding the moſt ſanguine Expectations, he diſpatch'd Advices to the Senate and People, extolling the Greatneſs of his Atchievements; and had his Battles and Victories pompouſly repreſented in public Pictures; while the Senate decreed him all kinds of Honours [d]; and gave him Epithets and Appellations alluding to the different Nations he had conquered.

Affairs in the Eaſt thus proſperouſly carried, he haſtens towards *Rome*, bringing with him his two Sons, now young Men. And after diſpoſing of the Provinces, as the Circumſtances of

Severus returns to *Rome*.

[d] Among other Honours decreed *Severus*, *Spartion* mentions a Triumph for a Victory gained over the *Jews* in this Expedition: But neither our Author, nor *Dio*, in any part of his Hiſtory now extant, ſays one Word about it. *Euſebius*, indeed, ſpeaks of a War raiſed by the *Jews* and *Samaritans* in the Time of *Severus*; which (if there be any Truth in the Story) muſt be the War mentioned by *Spartian*.

the reſpective Nations required, and review-
A.D.200. ing the Camps in *Myſia*[c] and *Pannonia*, being arrived at *Rome*, he enters the City in Triumph, received by the People with loud Acclamations, Applauſes, and Adorations; which he repaid with Sacrifices, Feaſts, Shews, Aſſemblies, liberal Congiaries, and public Games, inſtituted in Commemoration of his Victories.

Diſſenſions of his Sons.

After this, he ſpent many Years at *Rome* in political Affairs, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; during which Time he took no ſmall Pains in the Education and Inſtruction of his Sons. But the Youths were already corrupted with the Luxury and Wantonneſs of the City, and an exceſſive Fondneſs of Farces, Chariot-Races, and Dancing. The two Brothers conceived a kind of Antipathy the one to the other even from their Childhood; which they ſhewed in all their puerile Diverſions, ſuch as Quail-fighting, Cock-matches, and Wreſtling; in all which they zealouſly oppoſed each other. And at Shews and Plays they were ever divided into two Parties, contending rather with Enmity than Emulation: For whatever pleaſed the one, for that very Reaſon diſguſted his Brother. Nor were there wanting Flatterers and Miniſters to nurture and foment their mutual Diſagreement, indulging either in his beloved Exerciſes, and depreciating and calumniating his Antagoniſt.

Antoninus married.

When the Father was acquainted with this, he firſt endeavoured to reconcile and reduce them to Reaſon. In order to this, he choſe a

[c] The ſame with *Mœſia*, a large Country on the South ſide of the *Danube*. 'Tis divided into *Upper* and *Lower Myſia*; the former now call'd *Servia*, the latter *Bulgaria*.

Wife

Wife for the eldeſt (whoſe true Name, before he came to the Imperial Court, was *Baſſianus*; but afterwards his Father named him *Antoninus*, becauſe that was the Surname of *Marcus*) thinking Matrimony might reform his Manners, and teach him Soberneſs. This young Woman was Daughter to *Plautian*, Prefect of the Camps; a Man, they ſay, of very mean Birth, and one that had been banniſhed his Country for Sedition and other Offences. He was a *Libyan*, and *Severus's* Countryman; and, as ſome report, related to him by Blood; but others ſtick not to affirm, that *Severus* had criminal Converſation with him when a Boy. Be this as it may, 'tis certain *Severus* had raiſed him to this high Dignity from low and ſlender Circumſtances; and enrich'd him with exceſſive Wealth, by ſeizing on the Fortunes of thoſe he put to Death, and beſtowing them on *Plautian*; who grew ſo powerful, that he was little leſs than his Partner in the Empire. All theſe Advantages he ſo abuſed by Cruelty and Violence in his Actions, that he became more formidable than any of the Emperors.

His ill Behaviour to his Wife.

By marrying this Man's Daughter to his Son, *Severus* thought to unite the two Families. But *Antoninus* was very averſe to the Match; and at laſt ſubmitted more out of Neceſſity than Choice; after which he behaved with great Diſreſpect and Indecency to his Wife and Father-in-law, never vouchſafing ſo much as to eat with her, but uſing a ſeparate Table and Bed. In ſhort, he hated the old Man, and abhorr'd the Girl; and would often threaten, that when he came to be ſole Emperor, he would kill both her and her Father. This the young Woman

often told to her Father; and complaining how ſhe was hated by her Huſband, exaſperated *Plautian* to the laſt degree. He conſidered *Severus* was old, and continually afflicted with Sickneſs; and knew *Antoninus* to be a fierce daring Youth; and being terrified at his Threats, reſolves to be beforehand with him, and prevent the Evil deſigned againſt himſelf and Family. Beſides his Fears, he had other powerful Incentives, to make him aſpire to the Imperial Dignity. He was immenſely rich, beyond what any private Man ever was before; had the Soldiers in his Power; was greatly honour'd by all under the *Roman* Juriſdiction; went abroad in a very magnificent Dreſs; for he wore a *Laticlavian Tunic*[f], and held Rank with them who

Plautian's Arrogance.

[f] There is a great Diverſity in the Opinions of Critics about the *Laticlavian Veſts*. The common Opinion is, that the *Clavus* never meant more than a Purl or Stud like the Head of a Nail (whence it took its Name) which was larger in the Tunic of the Senators and principal Magiſtrates, and therefore call'd *Latus clavus*, *Broad Stud*, than in the Tunics of the Knights and Commons; where theſe Ornaments were called *Anguſti clavi*, *Narrow Studs*, in Contradiſtinction to the *Laticlave*. *Rubenius*, who has written on the Habits of the *Romans*, on the other hand, aſſerts, that the Tunic had no Studs at all; but that the *Clavus* only ſignifies a Stripe or Streak of Purple or Gold hanging ſtraight down the Veſt, and differing in Colour from the reſt of the Garment. M. *Dacier*, in his Note on *Horace*, lib. i. Sat. 5. eſpouſes this laſt Opinion; and ſays, the Tunic was faced on both Edges of the Fore-part with a Galoon; that, when the Coat was faſten'd, theſe two Borders met, and ſeemed one broad Galoon, call'd by the *Greeks* μεσατόπορφυρον, *Middle-purple*; and as to the *Clavi*, he affirms, they were not Studs like Nail-heads, as the Word implies, but only had that Name given them, becauſe they were put upon the Veſts. His Words are; *Les Anciens appelloient* Clavum, clou, *tout ce qui étoit fait pour être appliqué ſur quelque choſe. The Ancients call'd every thing* Clavum, a Nail, *that was made*

had been twice Conſuls. He never appear'd without his Sword, and every other Badge and Symbol of ſingular Authority. When he walk'd in public, he was ſo formidable, that no one

to be put upon another Thing. To back his Opinion, he cites that famous Paſſage of *Varro*, De ling. *Lat.* lib. viii. *Nam ſiquis tunicam in uſu ita conſuit, ut altera plagula ſit anguſteis claveis, altera lateis; utraque pars in ſuo genere caret Analogia.* Which he renders thus; *Car ſi quelqu' un fait ſa Veſte de maniere, que l' un des cotez ſoit garni d' un galon fort large, l' autre d' un galon fort étroit; chaque coté n' a rien qui lui repond. For if any one makes his Veſt in ſuch a manner, that one Side be trim'd with a very broad Galoon, the other with a very narrow; each Side has nothing that anſwers it.* In which Tranſlation he has rather given a Deſcription of a modern laced Waiſtcoat, than of a *Roman* Tunic. For this ingenious Commentator forgat, that *Varro* does not ſay, *altera plagula* ANGUSTO CLAVO, *altera* LATO; but *altera plagula* ANGUSTEIS CLAVEIS, *altera* LATEIS; not *a Galoon* in the Singular; but plurally, *claves, Studs.* So that 'tis plain enough, from this very Paſſage, that there were more than one *Clavus* in each Flap of the Tunic; conſequently, if the Stripe was only on the Edge of the Fore-part, there muſt be ſomething more underſtood by the *Clavus*, than a bare Streak of Purple, or Galoon; otherwiſe, the Plural *Claveis* would be uſed by *Varro* very improperly. Nor, indeed, does *Plagula* in *Varro* ſignify one *Side* of the Tunic: For that is expreſs'd by the Word *Pars* in the ſame Paſſage; and in another of *Suetonius*, in *Auguſto*, c. 94. But by *Plagula*, is rather meant a Slip or *Stripe* of Purple; in which the *Clavi*, or *Studs*, were fixt. In this Senſe *Livy* uſes the Word, when, ſpeaking of the Furniture of Beds, he ſays: *Plagulas, & alia textilia: Stripes and other Embroideries.* *Nonius* uſes the Terms, *Plagis Sigillatis; ſtudded Stripes.* And the ſame Author (ex *Pac.*) ſays; *Plaga, quam nunc dicimus* CLAVUM: *A Stripe, which we now call a* CLAVE: By which he means the whole purple Streak with its Purls or Studs. For the Word *Plaga* literally means a *Stroke*; and from the Reſemblance of the Marks raiſed in the Skin by Laſhes, the Term *Stripe* is metaphorically applied to ſignify any Line or Streak in a Garment, differing in Colour from the Ground-work.

dared to approach him; and ſo haughty, that every one who met him turn'd away. It was his Cuſtom to have Serjeants run before him, clearing the Way, and forbidding any ſo much as to look at him; and ordering all to turn aſide and bow their Heads towards the Ground.

Beſides what has been ſaid, whoever ſhall carefully read the ſeveral Accounts of the *Roman* Affairs written by *Greek* Authors, or the Gloſſes of *Greek* Scholiaſts on the *Roman* Writers, will find; that the *Signum* or Stripe of theſe Tunics is always render'd by σημεῖον; and as a Garment with many of theſe Ornaments is call'd πολυσήμων, ſo the *Laticlave* is expreſs'd by our Author, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others, by πλατυσήμων; which might be tranſlated either *Broad-ſtriped*, or *Broad-ſtudded*, ſince the *Clave* or Stud, was always proportioned to the Breadth of the Stripe. On the contrary, when the *Greeks* would expreſs the Stud without the Streak, they uſe the literal Term ἧλος, *Nail*, as the learned *Caſaubon* has well obſerved *Ovid*, Triſt. lib. iv. Eleg. 10. plainly diſtinguiſhes between the Streak and the Stud in theſe Words; *Cum lato purpura clavo: The purple* [Stripe] *together with the broad Clave.* Theſe *Claves* were generally made of Purple, Scarlet, or Gold; and ſewed upon a Line of Purple, broad or narrow, according to the ſize of the Stud. But *Vopiſcus* aſſures us, that *Tacitus* the Emperor, *auroclavatis veſtibus interdixit; forbad the Uſe of Gold-ſtudded Veſts.* Sometimes the purple Studs were worn without any Streaks at all; which kind of Coats they call'd *Aſemæ*, *ſtripeleſi*; as may be gather'd from a Paſſage of *Lampridius* (in *Alexandro*) compared with another of *Spartian* (in *Severo*.) And, on the other hand, when the *Claves* were large, and reſembled *Palms* (as on the Garments of Generals in a Triumph) the Coat was call'd *Tunica palmata*. Vid. *Liv.* lib. x. *Feſt.* in voce; and *Alex.* ab *Alex.* lib v. c. 18.

From the whole it appears, that the *Laticlavian* and *Anguſticlavian* Tunics were ſtriped with Purple; and on thoſe Stripes were ſet Rows of *Claves*, or Studs, in proportion to the largeneſs of the Stripes. Whence the *Clavus* alone is often uſed by Authors, to ſignify the whole Aſſemblage of Streaks and Studs; becauſe the Bigneſs of the latter was always adjuſted to the Breadth of the former.

Severus, being informed of his arrogant Behaviour, was ſo highly diſguſted at the ſuperlative Pride of the Man, that he ſomewhat curtail'd his Authority; and often endeavoured by Perſuaſion to bring him to a little Moderation. But *Plautian* was too haughty to bear Reproof; and therefore reſolved to attempt, by ſecret Treaſon, to inveſt himſelf with the Sovereignty; which he contrived in the following manner.

His Treaſon.

There was one *Saturninus* a Tribune under him, the moſt ſervile of all his Creatures; for though great Numbers ſneaked and cringed to him, *Saturnine* had ſo gain'd upon him by his extraordinary Adulations, that *Plautian* judged him moſt faithful to his Intereſt, and therefore the only Perſon capable of concealing and executing his ſecret Commands. Accordingly, he ſends for him one Evening, and having taken him into a private Place alone; "Now (ſays he) is "the Time both for you to give the laſt great "Proof of that Zeal and Affection you have "already ſhewn me; and for me to repay your "Services, with Rewards ſuitable to my own "Gratitude, and adequate to your Merit. Look "up to me in this high State, adorned with "Honours, and armed with Power; and then "tell me, whether you chuſe to ſucceed to this "Dignity, and be what I am now; or elſe to "ſuffer immediate Death, the juſt Puniſhment "of incorrigible Obſtinacy. Neither be ſhock'd "at the Greatneſs of the Attempt, nor ſhrink "at the Names of Sovereigns and Emperors. "You have in your Power to enter alone the "Chambers where they ſleep; foraſmuch as it "is your Turn to relieve the Guard To-night;

"when

" when you may, with great Secrecy, accom-
" pliſh your Deſigns unmoleſted. Farther than
" this there is no need for me to explain, or
" you to hear. Go to the Palace in haſte; and
" as if you came with ſome important Meſſage
" from me, enter the Apartments and diſpatch
" them both; no very difficult Taſk for a Man
" of Spirit, to cut off a feeble old Fellow, and
" a puny Boy. And as you are to be Partaker
" of the Dangers, ſo ſhall you have the greateſt
" Share in the Honours and Profits of the Re-
" volution."

The Tribune was ſhock'd beyond meaſure at what he heard; but had Preſence of mind enough to conceal his Diſorder. He was a Perſon far from ſtupid (for he was a *Syrian* by Race; and the Men of the Eaſt are generally of a ſharp and ready Wit) but ſeeing the mad peremptory Spirit of the Prefect, and knowing his Power, he offered no Contradiction, for fear of falling a Sacrifice to his Indignation. On the contrary, he pretended to hear him with a great deal of Pleaſure; and after bowing low, and paying him Homage as already Emperor, deſired a Note of his hand, containing Orders for the Aſſaſſination. This is a common Cuſtom with Tyrants, when they ſend to put any one to Death without a Trial, to give their Orders in writing, that the Perſon employed may be able to produce his Authority. *Plautian*, blinded by Reſentment and Ambition, was weak enough to give the Note, enjoining him to diſpatch them both, and, before he divulged what was done, to ſend ſomebody to call him; that he might appear in the Palace, before any one knew he had ſeized the Imperial Dignity.

Matters

Matters thus agreed on, the Tribune took his leave; and went through all the Apartments of the Palace, according to Cuſtom, without any Hindrance. But well knowing how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was, to kill two Princes lying in different Apartments, he ſtood at *Severus*'s Door; and having called the Keepers of the Imperial Bedchamber, deſired they would introduce him to the Emperor; for that he had ſomething to impart to him that nearly concern'd his Safety. They preſently inform'd *Severus*; who ordered the Tribune to be admitted.

Saturnine betrays Plautian.

When he came in; "I approach you, Royal "Sir (ſays he) in order (as he that ſent me ima- "gines) to be your Murtherer and Execution- "er; but (as I myſelf hope and deſire) to prove "your Saviour and Benefactor. *Plautian*, trea- "ſonably aſpiring to the Imperial Power, has "commanded me to murther you and your "Son. This horrid Taſk is injoin'd me, not "only in verbal, but written Orders; and this "Note is my Teſtimonial. I own, I feign'd "Compliance, leſt, upon my Refuſal, ſome o- "ther ſhould undertake the Deed; but am come "to detect his audacious Deſigns, and render "them abortive by this timely Diſcovery."

Though this Information was made with Tears, *Severus* at firſt could not credit it: For as he ſtill retained in his Breaſt the Sparks of his old Love for his *quondam* Minion, he was inclined to think the whole Plot fictitious and theatrical. And as he knew his Son hated both *Plautian* and his Daughter, he ſuſpected this might be ſome Trick of the Youth, deſigned to take off his Father-in-law by a falſe Accuſation.

tion. Having therefore called his Son before him, he reproved him for contriving a Thing of this kind againſt a Man ſo well affected and nearly allied to his Family. *Antoninus*, at firſt, only ſwore to his Innocence, and proteſted he knew nothing of what his Father was laying; but when the Tribune ſtill perſiſted in his Information, and ſhewed the Note; the young Prince encouraged him, and bid him proceed to full Conviction. But the Tribune, ſeeing in what a dangerous Situation he ſtood, reflecting on the great Favour *Severus* bore to *Plautian*, and well knowing, that, if he fail'd to make good his Impeachment beyond all poſſibility of Doubt, Death with the utmoſt Tortures would inevitably be his Lot, ſays to *Severus*; "What "further Conviction, my Royal Maſter, would "you have; or what clearer Diſcovery? Suffer "me (continues he) to go out of the Room, and "ſend one of my Friends, whom I can truſt, to "acquaint *Plautian*, that the Buſineſs is done. "He will believe the Meſſenger and be preſently "here, in order to take Poſſeſſion of the vacant "Palace: And when he is come, let it be your "Taſk to find out the Truth. Only order a "profound Silence to be kept in all the Impe-"rial Apartments, leſt any Suſpicion of what "we are about may overthrow the whole De-"ſign."

Immediately he ſends one of his moſt truſty Friends, to bid *Plautian* make haſte to the Palace; for that both the Emperors were dead, and his Preſence was neceſſary, before the People heard what was done; that, when he had ſeized the Citadel, and taken poſſeſſion of the Palace, all the People, both the Willing and the Unwilling,

Unwilling, might pay him Homage as their Sovereign, not elect, but confirmed. *Plautian* believed the Meſſage; and elate with vain Hopes of Empire, as it was now the Duſk of the Evening, he puts on his Corſlet, to guard his Perſon, and muffling himſelf up in the reſt of his Clothes, mounts his Chariot, and hurries away to Court with only a few Attendants, who thought he might be call'd by the Emperors on ſome momentous Affair.

When he came to the Palace, the Guards, who knew nothing of what was tranſacting, gave him ready Admittance; and the Tribune, meeting him at his Entrance, artfully ſaluted him Emperor; and taking him by the Hand, according to the uſual Cuſtom, conducted him into the Imperial Apartment; where he told him he would find the dead Bodies of both the Emperors. But *Severus* had ſome young Men of his Body-guards poſted in the Room, ready to ſeize him as ſoon as he came in. *Plautian*, having enter'd the Door, to his great Mortification, ſaw, what he leaſt expected, both the Emperors ſtanding alive. He was ſeized by the Guards, and being in the utmoſt Surprize and Terror, falls preſently to Prayers and Deprecations; denying the whole Affair, and ſaying, it was an Artifice of his Enemies, a theatrical Plot, deviſed to ruin him. And while *Severus* on one hand upbraided him with all the kind Offices and Honours he had heaped upon him; and he in return reminded the Emperor of his former Faith and Affection to his Perſon; *Severus*, moved at what *Plautian* alledged, began to relent, and was inclinable again to think him innocent; till, through an opening in his outſide

outſide Garment his Corſlet was diſcovered underneath; which *Antoninus* ſpying, as he was a bold paſſionate Youth, and had a natural Averſion to the Man; "But (ſays he) anſwer me "to theſe two Things. Do you come to Em- "perors in the Evening uncall'd? And what "means this Corſlet under your Clothes? Who "ever comes in Armour to ſup, or ſpend the "Evening, with his Friends?" And as ſoon as he had ſaid this, he orders the Tribune, and the reſt who were preſent, to fall upon him and put him to Death, as an openly convicted Traitor. The Soldiers, without the leaſt Heſitation, obeyed the Orders of the young Prince. They diſpatch'd him immediately; and caſt his Carcaſe into the Street, to be a public Spectacle to all, and an Object of Contempt and Deſpite to them who hated him. This End ſuffered *Plautian*, a Man whoſe Life was agitated by inſatiate Deſires and impetuous Paſſions; and whoſe Authority ſwelled with exorbitant State and oſtentatious Equipage.

Plautian's Death,

and Character.

After his Death, *Severus* divided the Government of the Camps between two Prefects; and ſpent the greateſt part of his remaining Life in his ſuburban Palaces, and the maritime Places of *Campania*; employing himſelf in Acts of Judicature and Politics. For he was willing by all means to remove his Sons from a Life of Freedom and Affluence at *Rome*, becauſe he ſaw them fond of Shews and Diverſions beyond what became Princes. Their ardent Zeal and Conteſts about theſe Trifles deſtroyed all brotherly Affection, and were continual Incentives to Diſcord and mutual Enmity. *Antoninus* eſpecially, ſince *Plautian* was taken off, grew

grew intolerably wicked: And though he was aſhamed and afraid to enter into any violent Meaſures againſt his Father's Authority, yet he endeavoured, by every kind of Deceit and Artifice, to bring about the Murther of his Wife, *Plautian's* Daughter. But *Severus* ſent away her and her Brother into *Sicily*; where he allow'd them a very handſome Competency; imitating in this the Example of *Auguſtus*, who took the ſame Method with *Anthony's* Sons, after their Father was deemed a Rebel. Nor did he omit any Mean, that might poſſibly bring his Sons to Amity and Concord. He continually reminded them of the Fables and dramatic Inſtructions of the Ancients; where the Subverſion of Kingdoms is repreſented as occaſioned by the Quarrels and Diſſenſions of Royal Brothers. He obſerved to them; "That the "Public Treaſuries and Temples were all well "filled with Treaſure; conſequently they would "have no need to hunt after Wealth and Power "from Abroad; but as there were ſuch abun- "dant Supplies at Home, they could not want "wherewithal to keep the Soldiers in their In- "tereſt, by large and frequent Donations. That "the Forces at *Rome* being four times as many "as they uſed to be, and ſuch a powerful Ar- "my encamped before the City, no foreign "Power could pretend to equal them, either "in the Number and Size of their Soldiers, or "the Quantity of their Riches: And yet they "might render all theſe Advantages invalid, "by mutual Diſcord and an inteſtine War." *Severus's* Admonitions to his Sons.

Theſe and the like Inſtructions he was continually inculcating, in order to recover them to Reaſon and Unity; ſometimes intreating, at

other times reproving them: All which was ſo far from effecting their Reformation, that they rather grew worſe and worſe. Puff'd up with Pride at their exalted State, they eagerly purſued every irregular Pleaſure that Youth could ſuggeſt, and Sovereign Power procure, inſtigated by Sycophants and Flatterers, who not only ſervilely miniſtred to their inordinate Deſires and obſcene Paſſions, but were ever inventing new Scenes of Pleaſure; while each Party ſtrove to humour the vicious Inclinations of their Patron, and at the ſame time to diſguſt and oppoſe his Brother. Some of theſe evil Miniſters *Severus* detected in their foul Practices, and gave them the juſt Reward of their Wickedneſs.

Alarms from *Britain.*

While his Mind was thus harraſs'd and perplex'd with the Immoralities of his Sons, and their unbecoming Fondneſs for Games and Shews; Advice was brought him from the Governor of *Britain*, "That the Barbarians of that Iſland had "rebelled, and were running through the Coun-"try in a tumultuous manner, plundering and "committing all kinds of Havock and Outrage. "That the Emperor's Preſence was highly "needful, or at leaſt the Succour of a ſtrong "Reinforcement." Nothing could be more agreeable to *Severus* than this News: For, beſides that he was naturally covetous of Glory, and deſired to add the Trophies of Victory gained over the *Britons*, to thoſe he had already raiſed in the Eaſt and North, he was glad to find an Occaſion to take his Sons from the Luxe and Softneſs of a City-Life, and inure them to the Diſcipline and Labours of War. Therefore, without the leaſt Delay, he gives Orders for

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an Expedition to *Britain*. For though worn with Age, and afflicted with the Gout, yet his Mind was ſtrong and hardy, even beyond the moſt robuſt and vigorous Youth. He made briſk Marches, never reſting long in any Place, though he was ſo infirm, that he was obliged to be carried the greateſt part of the Way in a Litter. When he came to the Sea-coaſt, he embarked with both his Sons; and being landed in *Britain* before the Enemy could expect, or his own People hope his Arrival; by collecting all his Forces from every Quarter, he aſſembles a mighty Army, and gets every thing in readineſs to open the War.

The *Britons* ſend Ambaſſies to *Severus*.

But the *Britons*, frighted at the ſudden Preſence of the Emperor, and hearing he had gathered a formidable Power againſt them, ſent Ambaſſies to him to treat of Peace, and make Apologies for what Offences they had committed. *Severus*, willing to protract the Time, that he might not hurry back again too ſoon to *Rome*, and ſtill deſirous of getting a Victory over the *Britons*, that to his other Titles he might add that of *Britannicus*, ſent the Ambaſſadors back with unſatisfactory Anſwers; and got every thing ready for Battle. His firſt Care was to throw Bridges acroſs the Moraſſes, that his Soldiers might be able to purſue the Enemy over the dangerous Places, and have the Opportunity of fighting on firm Ground. For as great part of the Iſland is frequently overflow'd by the Tides, theſe conſtant Inundations make the Country full of Lakes and Marſhes. In theſe the Barbarians ſwim, or wade through them up to their Middle, regardleſs of Mud or Dirt, as they always go almoſt naked: For

Deſcription of *Britain* and its Inhabitants.

they are ignorant of the Uſe of Clothes, and only cover their Necks and Bellies with fine Plates of Iron; which they eſteem as an Ornament and Sign of Wealth, and are as proud of it, as other Barbarians are of Gold. They likewiſe dye their Skins with the Pictures of various kinds of Animals; which is one principal Reaſon for their wearing no Clothes, becauſe they are loth to hide the fine Paintings on their Bodies. But they are a very warlike and fierce People; and arm only with a narrow Shield and Spear, and a Sword hanging by their naked Bodies; unacquainted with the Uſe of Habergeons and Helmets, which they think would be an Obſtruction to their wading through the Ponds and Marſhes of their Country: Which perpetually ſending up thick groſs Vapours, condenſe the Air and make it always foggy.

From all theſe Conſiderations *Severus* collected every thing he thought might help the *Romans*, and annoy and harraſs the Barbarians. When all was provided, that appeared neceſſary for beginning the War with the beſt Advantage, he leaves his youngeſt Son, named *Geta*, in that part of the Iſland which was under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, to adminiſter Juſtice, and manage all other political Affairs (with the Help of ſome of his Father's old experienced Friends, appointed to aſſiſt the Youth with their Counſels) and taking *Antoninus* with him, advances againſt the Barbarians. Having paſt the Ditches and Parapets [g], which

[g] The Parapets here mentioned were Walls, or Banks, of Mud and Turf, thrown up as Retrenchments againſt the Incurſions of the *North Britons*. *Spartian* tells us, *Adrian* was the firſt that threw up a Wall of eighty Miles length, to divide the *Romans* from the barbarous *Britons*. And

covered the *Roman* Territories, ſeveral ſhort Fights and Skirmiſhes enſued; in which the Barbarians were always worſted, but being well acquainted with the Nature of the Places, they eaſily eſcaped, and hid themſelves in the Fens and Thickets; which was a great Diſadvantage to the *Romans*, and ſerved to protract a dull tedious War.

Severus, being now old and infirm, was ſeized with a lingring Illneſs, that rendered him quite incapable of going abroad, and obliged him to commit the whole Government of the Army to his Son. But *Antoninus* took but very little Concern about what became of the Barbarians: All his Study was to gain the Soldiers to his Intereſt, and make the whole Army fix their Eyes on him as their Monarch; perpetually calumniating his Brother, and making uſe of every Mean to get the whole Power into his own Hands. He was chagrined at the Slowneſs of

And *Julius Capitolinus*, in his Life of *Antoninus Pius*, mentions another *murum ceſpititium*, *Turf-wall*, built in *Britain* after a Battle, in which (according to *Pauſanias*) *Pius* made a great Slaughter among the *Brigantes*; *i. e.* the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*. The ſame *Spartian* calls the Wall built by *Severus*, *murum*, *aut vallum*, *a Wall*, or *a Rampire*. *Eutropius* expreſsly calls it a Rampire; and ſays, it was built from Sea to Sea; the Length of which he makes but thirty-two Miles: So little Certainty is there in the Numbers mentioned in the Works of the Ancients, at leaſt as they are now extant. From all which Accounts the learned *Caſaubon* rightly aſſerts; that *Severus*'s Wall was no other than a Fence made of Turf, and ſtrengthen'd with Palliſadoes, like thoſe of the two Emperors before mentioned, and not built of ſolid Stone, as ſome have imagined. The famous PICTS WALL, the Ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen, was the Work of much more modern Times.

his Father's Diſtemper, and thought the old Man troubleſome becauſe he lived ſo long: And therefore, to rid himſelf of this Burthen, he tampered with his Father's Phyſicians and Servants, endeavouring to perſuade them to adminiſter ſome effectual Doſe that might diſpatch him out of the way. At laſt *Severus*, waſted chiefly with Trouble and Vexation, gave up the Ghoſt[h]; after having acquired more Glory in War, than any of the Emperors before him; none of whom could boaſt of ſo many Victories won, both in Civil Wars againſt his Rivals, and in foreign Expeditions againſt the Barbarians. He reigned eighteen Years; and was ſucceded by his Sons; to whom he left more Treaſure than any Father ever bequeath'd before[i]; and a military Power ſo formidable, that nothing could reſiſt it.

Severus dies. A.D. 213.

[h] He died at *York*, the 4th of *February*, *A. D.* 213. His Death (if we may credit *Dio*) was forwarded by his Son *Antoninus*; who had attempted it ſeveral times; and at laſt found means to effect his Deſigns.

[i] It may not be improper to mention here, for the Reader's Curioſity, what *Ælius Spartian* reports of the Quantity of Corn left by *Severus* in the public Store-houſes. His Words are; *Moriens ſeptem annorum canonem, ita ut quotidiana* 75,000 *modiorum expendi poſſent: He left at his Death a Proportion for ſeven Years, allowing the Conſumption of each Day to be* 75,000 Modii. The *Roman Modius* contain'd above three Gallons of our dry Meaſure. According to this Proportion, *Caſaubon* makes the Number of Souls maintained at *Rome* out of the public Granaries amount to 600,000. In this Computation he follows *Budæus*, who is of opinion, that the Allowance of Corn to a ſingle Perſon for one Day was a *Chœnix*, the eighth part of a *Modius*, in our Meaſure about three Pints.

But, with all due Deference to the Judgment of both theſe learned Men, I cannot think the Allowance of a ſingle Perſon to be ſo little as a *Chœnix*, neither in the Reign

Antoninus, having gotten the Power into his Hands, began at Home (as the Proverb says) to execute Cruelty and Murthers. He put to Death the Physicians, who had refused to take *Antoninus* begins his Reign with Murthers.

Reign of *Diocletian*, when *Spartian* wrote his Histories; nor in the time of *Severus*, in whose Life the above Proportion, or (as he calls it) *Canon*, is mentioned. Every one, who is but moderately acquainted with the History of *Rome* under the Emperors, knows, the Allowance of Corn, especially to the Soldiers, was frequently altered, and augmented, according to the Views or Fancies of the several Princes. And though a *Chœnix* may be sufficient for the Maintenance of one Man a Day; yet to gain or confirm the Good-will of the Army, the Emperors often gave them more than a Competency, and permitted them to turn the Overplus into Money.

Anciently the Quantum of Corn for the *Roman* Army was more than a *Chœnix* a day. *Polybius* says; Σιτομετρεῖται δὲ οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ πυρῶν Ἀττικῷ μεδίμνῳ δύο μέρη μάλιστα πως, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς κριθῶν μὲν ἑπτὰ μεδίμνους εἰς τὸν μῆνα, πυρῶν δὲ δύο. *The Measure of Wheat to the Foot is generally two parts of an Attic* Medimnus; *to the Horse seven* Medimni *of Barley for a Month, and two of Wheat.* The *Attic Medimnus* is above six *Modii*. So that if we take the Phrase *Two parts*, for Two thirds (as the *Greeks* use ἐν μέρει for *Half*, δύο μέρη, for two parts in three, &c. and the *Latins* often express the same way) this Computation in *Polybius's* Time gives a Foot-Soldier thirty-two *Chœnices* of Wheat a Month, and to each of the Cavalry ninety-six *Chœnices* of Wheat, and 336 of Barley (almost sixteen Bushels of our Measure.) If then upon an Average we allow three *Sextiers*, or a *Chœnix* and half (about two Quarts and half a Pint *English*) to each Person, the Conjecture will, I think, have a little more Probability. According to this Calculation, there will be 400,000 Persons at *Rome* maintained by the public Corn. These were only the poor Plebeians, some Companies of Children allotted by the Emperors and call'd after their Names, and the Soldiery. So that if we make this but an eighth part of the Number of Citizens (which will be a moderate Proportion, considering all the Nobility, Knights, Gentry, Tradesmen, Women, Children, and Slaves) the Inhabitants of *Rome* will amount to 3,200,000. A surprizing Number! and such as we shall hardly read of in any City in the World besides.

his Father out of the way, as he ordered; together with all his own and *Geta's* Tutors; becauſe they attempted, by Perſuaſion and Intreaty, to reconcile him to his Brother: Nor did he ſuffer one Man of Honour or Authority among all his Father's Servants to long ſurvive their old Maſter. He, by great Bribes, and greater Promiſes, tempted the principal Officers to perſuade the Army to declare him ſole Emperor; and by all kinds of Artifices plotted his Brother's Ruin. But the Soldiers would not comply. For remembring that *Severus* had educated both with equal Care, they reſolved to pay the ſame Reſpect and Obedience to both.

As to the Largeneſs of *Rome*; about ſixty Years after *Severus*, the Emperor *Aurelian* enlarged the Walls, till their Circumference took up the Space of fifty Miles. This is the greateſt Extent of the City we find in Hiſtory. But *Vopiſcus*, the Author of this Account, aſſures us, *Aurelian*, tho' he enlarged the Walls, made no Addition to the *Pomœrium*: By which is underſtood a Space of conſecrated Ground all round the City, both within and without the Walls. This Space, ſays *Livy*, lib. i. the *Romans* call *Pomœrium*, both becauſe it is *behind the Wall, and the Wall behind it*. For at the building of the City, they deſcribed the Extent of it by a Plough drawn by a Bull and a Cow round it's Compaſs; taking care to turn all the Clods inwards. On this circular Line the Walls were built, in the middle of the conſecrated Space or *Pomœrium*. So that half of it was without the Walls, the other half within them. The whole being pronounced Holy-ground by the Soothſayers, it was unlawful either to plough or till the external Part, or build upon the internal. However, the *Romans* did not tie themſelves by the latter part of the Prohibition, but extended their Buildings quite to the Walls, as we are inform'd by *Livy* in the Place above mention'd. To extend the *Pomœrium*, was look'd on as a Matter of that Importance, that the Honour was allowed no General or Emperor, except thoſe who had added to the *Roman* Territories ſome quantity of Land taken from the Enemy in a fair and open War.

When

When therefore *Antoninus* found he could not obtain his Ends from the Army, he treats with the Barbarians, and grants them a Peace; and having received Hoſtages of their Faith, he leaves their Territories, and marches back again in haſte to his Brother and Mother. She, with the Aſſiſtance of the chief Officers and Counſellors, her Huſband's Friends, endeavour'd all that lay in her Power, to bring them to Agreement: And *Antoninus*, at length, when all oppoſed his Deſigns, was prevail'd upon to make a ſhew of Reconciliation, more out of Neceſſity than Choice; for his Malice ſtill remained in his Breaſt, ſomewhat ſmother'd, indeed, but not extinguiſh'd.

Thus the two Brothers, Co-partners in the Imperial Dignity, agreed to embark their Troops and haſten to *Rome*; carrying with them their Father's Reliques (for the Coarſe was burnt, and the Aſhes encloſed in an Alabaſter Urn, with all kinds of Spices and ſweet Odours) in order to interr them among the ſacred Tombs of the Emperors. They ſet ſail with the Army in a triumphant manner, for their Victories over the *Britons*; and having croſſed the Sea, landed on the oppoſite Coaſt of *Gaul*.

This Third Book ends with the Account of *Severus's* Death, and the Joint-Succeſſion of his two Sons to the Empire.

HERODIAN

BOOK IV.

A.D. 213. The two Emperors return to *Rome* with their Father's Reliques.

THE memorable Actions of *Severus*, during the whole eighteen Years of his Reign, have been related in the precedent Book. His Sons, both as yet very young, together with their Mother, proceded to *Rome* with great Alacrity, but not without frequent Quarrels by the Way. They neither lay in the ſame Inn, nor uſed the ſame Table; and had the ſtricteſt Caution in Eating and Drinking, each fearing his Brother might have ſecretly mixt ſome noxious Ingredient in the Food, or have corrupted ſome of his Servants to poiſon their Maſter. Theſe Suſpicions made them purſue their Journey with greater Expedition, hoping their Security might be better confirmed when they were at *Rome*; becauſe, having divided the Sovereignty, they imagined, that in a ſpacious Palace, greater than any City, and containing ſo many ſeparate Apartments, they ſhould have the liberty of living each according to his particular Fancy.

The Order of the Proceſſion.

When they arrived at *Rome*, the People, with Laurels in their Hands, gave them a joyful Reception; and the Senate addreſſed them in

in the uſual Manner. The two Princes went firſt, cloath'd in the Imperial Purple; next to them came the Conſuls, bearing the Urn in which were the Reliques of *Severus*. The Senators and Magiſtrates, after ſaluting the new Emperors, paid Adoration to the Urn. Then all in their reſpective Ranks joined the Proceſſion; and followed the Urn, with great Pomp, to the Temple [a]; where it was depoſited amongſt the ſacred Monuments of *Marcus* and the former Emperors.

The Divine Service, as by Law eſtabliſhed, being perform'd at the Entrance of the Court, the two Emperors retired to the Palace; which they divided between them, and took care to ſhut up all the private Avenues and Paſſages, and permitted none to come in or out but by the public Gates and Entrances of the Court. Each Prince had his peculiar Guards: Nor did the Brothers ever meet, except when they had a mind to appear together in public, and this but very ſeldom.

The firſt thing they did was to perform the Funeral Obſequies to their departed Father. 'Tis a Cuſtom among the *Romans*, to conſecrate thoſe of their Emperors who die and leave either Sons or deſign'd Succeſſors, and call this religious Office their *Apotheoſis*. At this Solemnity there is a promiſcuous ſhew of Mourn- Apotheoſis of the Emperors.

[a] It ſtood in the *Via Appia*, or *Appian Road*, a famous Cauſey, ſo called from *Appius*, the Cenſor, it's Author. It reached to above 300 Miles from the City to the South-Eaſt, and was twelve Feet wide, all paved with large Stones, moſtly blue, and about ſixteen Inches ſquare. Great part of this curious and grand piece of Workmanſhip is ſtill to be ſeen.

ing,

ing, Feasting, and Worshipping, throughout the whole City. The Corpse is buried [b] as that of another Man, only in a very costly pompous

[b] *Alexander ab Alexandro* asserts, lib. iii. c. 2. that the Custom of burning the Dead among the *Romans*, was discontinued in the Reigns of the *Antonines*. For this he is charged with Inaccuracy by *Mercere*, and other Commentators; who pretend, that the more humane Custom of interring the Deceased, was not assumed till the Times of the *Christian* Emperors. But I am of opinion, that upon a strict and impartial Examination, *Alexander's* Assertion will appear better grounded, than the Objections raised against him. In the early Ages of both *Greece* and *Rome*, Interrment was generally the method of Burial: But in Process of time, Burning was introduced and practised by both these great States, but not so universally as to exclude Interrment. Every one knows, that in the Times of the Commonwealth the *Romans* used to interr or burn their Dead, as either seemed most agreeable to the surviving Friends. The Laws of the XII Tables, cited by *Cicero*, De Legibus, lib. ii. contain certain Injunctions relating to both Customs. And the same excellent Author assures us, the Family of the *Cornelii* always interr'd their Dead till the time of *Sylla* the Dictator; who having maliciously ordered the Body of his Adversary *Marius* to be torn out of the Grave; and fearing his own might, after his Decease, suffer the same Fate, gave Orders, a little before he died, for the burning his Coarse. After which, Burning became the most frequent Method, at least among Persons of Rank or Distinction: So that *Funus, Funeratus est, &c.* when spoken of Great Men, generally signify Funerals by Fire.

That the Bodies of all of the twelve first Emperors, who had any Burial at all, were burnt, is plain from *Suetonius*. Nor is there any Reason to suspect the Custom was altered till the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the sixteenth Emperor, who buried *Adrian* secretly at *Puteoli*. This we are told by *Spartian*, in his Life of *Adrian*; and *Dio*, as extracted by *Xiphilin*, mentions his Interrment, without one Word of his being burnt. The Cause of *Adrian's* secret Burial was, that he was grown so odious, by his tyrannic Behaviour a little before his Death, that it was not without great Difficulty *Pius* obtained from the Senate Permission to canonize him. And 'tis highly probable, that *Pius*, on that very Account, restored

Manner; but an Image, curiouſly made of Wax, repreſenting with great Exactneſs the Size and Form of the Defunct, is laid on a magnificent

reſtored the Cuſtom of Interrment, to wipe off the Diſgrace of *Adrian's* clandeſtine Burial, whoſe Memory he honoured even to Adoration.

Though we have no Account, either in *Dio's* Fragments, or in *Capitolinus*, of the Burial of *Antoninus Pius* himſelf; yet 'tis moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he was interred, not only from the Motive juſt mentioned, but becauſe, we are inform'd, he made and enforced ſeveral good Laws about Burials: One of which was, that none ſhould be buried in the City. For anciently the *Romans* uſed to bury their Dead, not only in the City, but even in their own Gardens and Houſes, as *Servius* affirms on *Æneid.* v. ỳ 64. And though the Laws of the XII Tables prohibited the Cuſtom; yet Indulgence was given to Perſons of ſeveral Qualities and Merits, ſuch as the *Veſtal* Virgins, Generals who had often triumph'd, and ſome others for extraordinary Services done the State; among whom was the Emperor *Trajan*, as we have related in the Introduction. Beſides, as *Pius* was ſuch a zealous Imitator of *Numa's* religious Rites, 'tis probable he took care to be buried in the ſame manner as that good King; whoſe Stone Coffin, with a Leaden Cover, was dug up almoſt 500 Years after his Death; as we find in *Livy*, lib. xl. Be that as it may, 'tis plain from this very Paſſage of our Author, that in his time Interrment was the common Cuſtom. For the original Words Σῶμα καταθάπτουσιν cannot fairly be rendered otherwiſe than, *They interr the Body.*

What our Author relates a little further on in this ſame Book, of the Cruelty of *Antoninus*, ſeems rather to confirm than invalidate what we are proving. For, among other Marks of Indignity, he informs us, that *Antoninus* had the dead Bodies of thoſe he had put to death thrown into Carts, carried out of the City, and *burnt*. And though we read of ſeveral Emperors after *Severus*, whoſe Coarſes were burnt; yet this was only when they died abroad, and could not be kept long enough to bring to *Rome*: Their Succeſſors therefore thought it better to burn them, and collect their Aſhes, than to truſt their dead Bodies in a foreign Country, where probably the Enemy might dig them up again. Add to all this, that *Spartian*

expreſsly

Bed of State, made of Ivory, and all the Covering richly embroidered with Gold. This Bed is raiſed and expoſed to view in one of the Galleries of the Court. The Image has a pale languid Countenance like a Perſon in Illneſs; and is attended the greateſt part of the Day by the moſt illuſtrious Perſonages: For on the left ſide of the Bed the Members of the Senate ſit, in black mourning Robes; and on the right, the Women of Quality, whoſe Huſbands or Fathers are the principal Officers of State. Not

expreſsly tells us, in *Juliano*, that *Severus* himſelf gave the Body of *Julian* to his Wife, in order to be interr'd; which was done accordingly in the Monument of his Anceſtors. From the whole, I think, we may reaſonably enough conclude, that the Diſuſe of the barbarous Cuſtom of Burning, began in the Reigns of the *Antonines*, as *Alexander* affirms.

'Twere frivolous to tire the Reader with a long Detail of all the little Ceremonies practiſed by the *Romans* at Funerals; which, like other Faſhions, varied in every Age, according to the Judgment or Caprice of the Parties concerned: But one laudable Cuſtom deſerves to be repeated. The Ancients were ſo ſcrupulouſly cautious of burying any Perſon before quite dead, that they kept their Deceas'd ordinarily ſeven Days. During this term, the Body was frequently waſhed with warm Water, and anointed by Perſons called *Pollinctores*, in order, if poſſible, to reſtore the Circulation of the Blood; which they thought might perhaps be obſtructed by ſome latent Cauſe. In the Intervals of waſhing, the Friends cried aloud over the Dead by Name: nor did they give him over till the laſt Cry on the ſeventh Day: Whence *Conclamatum eſt* paſs'd for a Proverb, in Matters which were finiſhed beyond all Poſſibility of being recalled. The eighth Day, the Funeral, after being publicly proclaimed, was performed with all it's accuſtomed Rites. And if the Deceaſed was a Perſon of Diſtinction, his Memory was honour'd with Funeral Games; which conſiſted of Tilting, Racing, Shooting, mortal Fighting between Gladiators, Boxing, hurling the Coit, and almoſt every Trial of Manhood or Dexterity.

one

one of theſe Ladies has any Ornament of Gold or Jewels; but all are plain dreſt in White, and in every Circumſtance reſemble Mourners. For ſeven Days the Image thus lies in State, during which the Phyſicians pay their conſtant Viſits, approach the Bed, inſpect the fictitious Patient, and every time declare he grows worſe, and there appears no hope of Recovery.

At laſt he is ſaid to be dead; and the Chief of the Equeſtrian Order, together with ſome young Senators, take up the Bed, and bear it through the *Holy-Street* into the *Old Forum*, where the principal Magiſtrates of the *Romans* diveſt themſelves of their Offices. On each ſide are Stairs, raiſed in the form of Ladders; where ſtand on one hand a Choir of Boys, pick'd out of the Sons of the beſt Families; and on the other, young Ladies of the like Quality and Diſtinction: Theſe ſing Funeral Dirges and Hymns in honour of the Deceaſed; the Words and Tunes adapted to the Mournfulneſs of the Occaſion.

This done, the Bed is again taken up and carried out of the City, into what they call the *Campus Martius*[c]; where is raiſed, in the broadeſt part of the Plain, a large quadrangular

[c] It was once the Eſtate of the *Tarquins*, lying between the City and the *Tiber*. In the ſecond Year after the Expulſion of the Kings, the Senate ſeized on all the Effects of the Royal Family, and gave them to the People. The Corn on the Eſtate, being then ripe, was cut down, and the Land dedicated to *Mars*, under the Title of *Campus Martius*, *Mars's Plain*. Here were celebrated the firſt Secular Games; and the Place was afterwards famous for holding Elections, convening the Citizens on any Emergency, practiſing all the Feats of Arms, exhibiting Sports, Races, and other public Diverſions. It was look'd on as a laſt-

Building, exactly ſquare, compoſed of no other Materials than Wood, repreſenting a ſort of Pavillion; the inſide of which is filled with dry combuſtible Matter, but the outſide beautifully decorated with rich Hangings wrought with Gold, Statues of Ivory, and all kinds of curious Painting. Upon this is another Story, built in the ſame Form, and equally embelliſhed, but ſmaller than the firſt, with open Doors and Windows. Then a third, and a fourth; ſtill leſſening as they riſe, till the Top appears ſharp and pointed, like thoſe pyramidical Structures which are erected at the Entrances of certain Ports, to light Ships ſafe into their Harbours by Night, and are commonly called *Phari*, or *Light-houſes*. The Bed is carried up, and placed in the ſecond Story of the Edifice, amidſt great Quantities of rich Spices and Odours of every kind the Earth affords; to which they add the moſt delicious Fruits, fragrant Herbs, and ſweet Juices, brought from all parts of the World: For there is neither Nation nor City, nor Perſon of Diſtinction or Honour, who is not proud of beſtowing ſome coſtly Preſents of this ſort, as his laſt Devoirs of Honour to the Prince. When theſe ſpicy and odoriferous Oblations are amaſſed to an immenſe Heap, ſo that the whole Place is fill'd with them, a kind of Cavalcade is then performed by all the *Roman* Knights; who ride round the Edifice with great Regularity, keeping an exact Time, doubling and

a laſting Monument of their Liberty obtained by Arms againſt the Regal Power; and as ſuch was nobly adorned with Statues, Porticos, Arches, and other curious and magnificent Decorations.

redoubling

redoubling in a ſort of Courſe they call the *Pyrrhichian Rhythmus* [d]. Chariots likewiſe encircle the Structure, keeping the ſame regular Time and Meaſure; their Conductors being cloathed in purple Robes, perſonating the moſt illuſtrious Generals or Emperors of the *Romans*, adorn'd with all the Badges and Enſigns of their reſpective Dignities.

After the Courſes are ended, the Succeſſor to the Imperial Throne takes a lighted Torch, and bears it to the Edifice; and then the reſt ſet fire to the dry combuſtible Matter on every ſide; which, preſently kindling, communicates the Fire to the Spices and Perfumes, and the whole Fabric is ſoon in a Flame. Out of the laſt and narroweſt Story, as from the Summit of a lofty Tower, an Eagle is let fly; which aſcending with the Flame and Smoke into the Air, is believed by the *Romans* to ſoar into Heaven, bearing the Soul of the departed Prince; who from this time hath religious Worſhip paid him in common with other Deities [e].

[d] The *Pyrrhichian Rhythm* or Meaſure, was a kind of Horſe-Exerciſe perform'd in muſical Number, invented, as ſome ſay, by *Pyrrhichus* of *Crete*. *Ariſtotle* is of opinion, that *Achilles* was the Inventor, and his Son *Pyrrhus* performed it in honour of his Father at his Funeral Obſequies. The Pace in theſe Courſes was exceeding quick, in Imitation of the *Pyrrhichian* Foot in *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry, which conſiſts of two Syllables both ſhort, peculiarly adapted to a ſwift Meaſure. *Virgil*, Æn. v. gives a beautiful Deſcription of this *Pyrrhichian Rhythm*, call'd by the *Latins*, *The* Trojan *Game*, where he introduces *Aſcanius* and the *Trojan* young Gentlemen performing this Courſe, at the Funeral Games of *Anchiſes* in *Sicily*, with great Juſtneſs and Dexterity. It ſeems to have taken it's Riſe from the Funeral Games inſtituted by *Achilles* in honour of his Friend *Patroclus*, as they are deſcribed by *Homer*, Iliad xxiii.

[e] Few of the *Roman* Emperors miſſed the Honour of

A.D.213. The Quarrels of the two Brothers.

The Divine Honours being performed to their Father, the young Princes returned to the Imperial Palace; where they continually quarrelled, hated, and plotted Miſchief one againſt the other. Each of them ſpent his whole Time

Deification. For though ever ſo deſervedly hated in their Life-time, they generally found ſome Friend or other to canonize them for Saints after their Death. Even *Commodus* was deified by *Severus*; and *Pertinax*, tho' murther'd by the Soldiery, had the ſame Honour paid him by the Senate. And very often the Sons and Daughters, and other both male and female Relations of the Emperors, were honoured with this holy Ceremony. Each of theſe conſecrated Saints had a Church dedicated to him, a *Flamen*, or *Head-Prieſt*, *Sacerdotes* (afterwards call'd *Salii*) *Officiating Prieſts* or Chaplains, and *Sodales*, *Fellows of the College*. The *Flamen* was generally the Son of the Deceaſed, if any Son ſurvived. Thus *Pertinax*'s Son was *Flamen* to his Father. This Cuſtom of giving Divine Honours to Princes was very old, and practiſed by almoſt all Nations of whom we have any Account. *Romulus*, the firſt King of *Rome*, was ſo religiouſly worſhipped, that his Succeſſor *Numa* created for him a *Flamen*; tho' we read but of three *Flamens* ordained by him; one to *Jupiter*, call'd *Flamen Dialis*; a ſecond to *Mars*, term'd *Flamen Martialis*; and the third to *Romulus*, under the Title of *Flamen Quirinalis*. But what is more remarkable, the Women ſometimes performed this ſacred Function. *Velleius Paterculus*, *Tacitus*, and *Dio*, all three mention *Livia* as Prieſteſs to *Auguſtus*, and call'd his Daughter, tho' ſhe had been his Wife. This ſame *Livia* was afterwards canonized herſelf by *Claudius*; and *Voſſius* tells us of a Medal he ſaw of that Emperor, on the Reverſe of which was this Inſcription: S. P. Q. R. DIVAE. IULIAE. AUGUSTI. FILIAE. THE. SENATE. AND. PEOPLE. OF. ROME. TO. SAINT. IULIA. DAUGHTER. OF. AUGUSTUS.

The Images of thoſe departed Saints were kept in the Houſes of the Citizens; and thoſe who could afford it, were reckon'd irreligious Perſons, if they were without them. *Julius Capitolinus* ſays, the Images of *Marcus* were ſeen in ſeveral Houſes among the Houſhold-Gods, in his time, which was about 100 Years after *Marcus*'s Death.

and

and Study, in contriving Means to diſpatch his Brother, and make himſelf the Monarch of the Empire. This gave riſe to Factions and Feuds amongſt all who were inveſted with any Honour or Authority throughout the whole City; while each of the Princes, by ſecret Letters, Bribes, and Promiſes, endeavoured to bring over Proſelytes to his Party. However, the greateſt Part favour'd *Geta*; becauſe he ſhew'd ſome marks of Moderation in his Temper; was civil, and eaſy of Acceſs; employed himſelf in ſerious Studies; converſed with Men of Learning; was frequently in the *Palæſtra* [f], and zealouſly fond of the beſt Gymnaſtic Exerciſes: So that the Fame of his ingenuous and amiable Carriage to thoſe about him gained him the Love of the greateſt part of the People. On the contrary, *Antoninus* was imperious, ſtern, and turbulent; and rejecting thoſe Exerciſes above mentioned, pretended to be a Lover of Military Diſcipline, and the Life of a Warriour; acting always with Rage and Rigour; ſeldom perſuading, frequently threatning; fonder of making Friends by Fear, than winning them by Gentleneſs and Affability. Their Mother did every thing in her power to bring her Sons to better Harmony; but they ſtill betrayed an irreconcileable Enmity in all their Actions, and quarrelled about the moſt trifling and minute Circumſtances. At laſt they thought proper to divide the Empire, that either might be ſafe from any Treachery of his Brother; which both were afraid of, while they remained at *Rome*.

[f] That part of the *Gymnaſium* appropriated to corporal Exerciſes, ſuch as Wreſtling, Boxing, Running, Leaping, throwing the Coit, &c.

Accordingly, they called together their Father's Friends; and their Mother being preſent, they deſired the Empire might be parted according to the following Articles.

Articles of Separation.

I. Antoninus *to be ſole Maſter of all* Europe; *and* Geta *to rule the whole oppoſite Continent, called* Aſia. (For they ſaid theſe Continents ſeemed to be ſo divided on purpoſe by ſome divine Providence, by the Straits of the *Propontis*.)

II. *That* Antoninus *have a Camp at* Byzantium; *and* Geta *at* Chalcedon *in* Bithynia; *that the Army on either Side the* Propontis *may guard the Frontiers of their reſpective Realms, and hinder any Invaſions from the oppoſite Party.*

III. *That the Senate be likewiſe divided; thoſe under the Dominion of the* European *Sovereign to remain in* Rome, *the reſt to follow* Geta *into* Aſia.

IV. *That* Geta *may keep his Court either at* Antioch *or* Alexandria; *both which are very large Cities, and thought but little inferior to* Rome.

V. *That, of the Southern Nations, the* Moors, Numidians, *and the adjoining part of* Libya, *be ceded to* Antoninus; *the reſt of the Countries, quite to the Eaſt, ſhall remain under the Government of* Geta.

While the two Princes were drawing and debating theſe Articles, all about them ſeemed much dejected, and hung down their Heads in ſilence: But *Julia* their Mother thus vented her Grief. "You find means, my Sons, to divide "the Earth and Sea betwixt you; and the in- "terfluent Stream, you ſay, ſevers the two "Continents: But how will you be able to di-

"vide

" vide your Mother? How am I, your un-
" happy Parent, to be torn aſunder, and ſhared
" between you both? There is but one Way.
" Firſt ſheath your Swords in my Breaſt, and
" then let my dead Body be cut into two, that
" each Prince may bury half his Mother in his
" own Territory. So ſhall I be equally parted
" between you, together with your Empire of
" the Earth and Sea."

Theſe Words were uttered with Tears and ſtrong Cries. She took them both by the hand, embraced them in her Arms, and with all the Tenderneſs of a Mother's Love, begg'd them to lay aſide all Thoughts of Sejunction. This Scene was ſo affecting, that all preſent were moved with Pity. The Aſſembly was diſmiſs'd, and the Scheme diſapproved; and the Youths retired to their ſeparate Apartments. The Articles are null'd.

But their Hatred and Diſcord ſtill increaſed: For whenever a Poſt of Honour or Power fell vacant, each endeavoured to prefer his own Friends; or if they ſat upon any Cauſe of Judicature, their Sentiments were always contrarious, ſometimes to the Ruin of the Parties concerned: For their Love of Oppoſition was more prevalent than their Regard to Juſtice. The ſame Spirit appeared in all their public Diverſions. Nor was there any kind of Treachery left unattempted; but each endeavour'd to perſuade his Brother's Cooks and Cup-bearers to mix ſome deadly Drug in his Food; which was difficult to effect, becauſe both received every thing they ate or drank with the ſtricteſt Caution.

A.D. 214. *Antoninus* murthers his Brother.

At laſt *Antoninus*, tired with frequent Diſappointments, and fired more and more with deſire

deſire of the ſole univerſal Monarchy, reſolved to put the finiſhing Stroke to his black Deſign with the Sword, or elſe to periſh in the Attempt. For ſince ſecret Means had ſo oft proved ineffectual, he thought it neceſſary to proceed to dangerous and deſperate Meaſures. [*Accordingly he enters the Chamber, where his Mother and her Son were met by his Appointment; when ſome Officers, previouſly poſted there for that Purpoſe, ruſhed out with their Weapons upon* Geta; *to the unſpeakable Horror of the Boy and his Mother* §] hers occaſioned by her maternal Love, his by the Sight of inſtant Death. *Geta*, being mortally wounded, pours out his Blood in his Mother's Boſom, and expires.

He flies to the Camp.

This unnatural Murther being perpetrated, *Antoninus* ſprings out of the Room, and running through all the Palace cries aloud, that a baſe Attempt had been made againſt his Life; that it was with much Difficulty he had eſcaped the Treaſon; and orders the Pretorians on guard at Court, to come to his Reſcue, and carry him directly to the Camp, that the Army there might guard his Perſon; for that it was impoſſible he could be any longer ſafe in the Palace. The Guards, believing what he ſaid, and ignorant of what had been committed within, ſeeing him flee with ſuch Speed, immediately fled with him; while the People were in the utmoſt Conſternation, to ſee the Emperor running thro'

§ All within the Crotchets I have ſupplied from *Dio*, to make the Senſe entire: For there is a Gap in all the Copies of *Herodian*, which evidently wanted filling up with ſomething of that kind. *Politian* has omitted it in his Tranſlation; and *Stevens* and *Sylburg* both own a Deficiency, but have left it unſupplied.

the

the Streets in the duſk of the Evening. When he came to the Camp, he goes into the Chapel, where the Enſigns and Images of the Army are worſhipped, falls proſtrate on the Ground, and with religious Adoration returns his Thanks for his Deliverance. But when the Report came among the Soldiers, ſome of whom were bathing, others laid down to reſt; they all ſtarted up, and ran to the Chapel: Where *Antoninus* came forth to them; and, concealing what he had done, exclaims aloud, "That he had juſt "eſcaped from imminent Danger, offered him "by an Enemy and a Traitor (meaning his "Brother) That by a vigorous Defence, he had "got the better of his Adverſaries, and after "both Parties had engaged with the utmoſt "Hazard of Life, he had the good Fortune to "remain ſole ſurviving Emperor." By theſe oblique Hints, he endeavour'd to make his Murther rather underſtood than confeſſed; and promiſed, if they would protect his Safety, and confirm him in the Monarchy, he would give every Soldier 2500 *Attic Drachms* [h]; and that their preſent Allowance of Corn ſhould be augmented to half as much more. Moreover, he bids them go and take the Moneys which were depoſited in the Temples and Treaſuries: And thus in one Day he ſquanders away, in profuſe Largeſſes, all the Riches *Severus* had raked together from the Ruin of other People in the whole Space of eighteen Years. The Soldiers, tempted by the Offer of ſo much Money, and underſtanding what had been done (for the Murther was now bawl'd about, by

[h] About 78*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

thoſe who had fled thither from Court) ſaluted him ſole Emperor; and declared *Geta* an Enemy.

But *Antoninus* thought proper to ſtay that Night in the Chapel of the Camp, to attach the Army firmly to his Intereſt, and make them his own, by the Diſtribution of ſuch large Sums of Money; and the next Day went to the Senate-houſe, attended by all the Prætorians armed in a ſtronger manner than was uſual when they only attended the Emperor in State. Being enter'd, after Divine Service was performed, he aſcends the Imperial Throne, and delivers himſelf to the Senate in this manner.

His Speech to the Senate.

"I am not ignorant, that every domeſtic "Murther is no ſooner heard than deteſted; "and that the very Name of Parricide, the "Moment it ſtrikes the Ear, raiſes immediate "Indignation and Calumny. The Unfortunate "are always Objects of Compaſſion; the Powerful of Envy. In theſe Caſes, the vanquiſh'd "Party is thought to be injured; and he that "gains the Victory, is ever accuſed of having "done the Wrong. But if any one will reaſon "the Caſe with Equity, and not form his Judg"ment from a partial Affection to the Perſon "that fell, but maturely weigh and examine "the Counſels and Motives of both Parties; "he will find, that it is ſometimes not only "reaſonable but neceſſary, for a Man to retort "the Evil deſign'd himſelf: Becauſe to fall by "Injuſtice, carries with it a ſtrong Suſpicion "of Cowardice; but to repel Violence with "Succeſs, has, beſides the Pleaſure of having "deſcricked your Safety, the additional Glory "of a bold and manly Spirit. What frequent

"Snares

" Snares have been laid for my Life, by Poiſon
" and every other kind of covert Treaſon, is in
" your Power to ſearch out by Tortures: For
" I have ordered his Miniſters and Servants to
" be preſent, that the Truth of this might,
" when you will, be diſcovered. Some of them
" have been already examined; and you may
" preſently hear their Confeſſions. In the mean
" time let me inform you of his laſt wicked
" Attempt. He came upon me in the preſence
" of my Mother, attended with certain Per-
" ſons furniſhed with Weapons for the intend-
" ed Murther; but having previous Suſpicion
" of his Villainy, I boldly defeated his Attempt;
" and uſed him as an avow'd Enemy, whom
" I found to entertain neither the Affection nor
" Nature of a Brother. To puniſh ſuch Trai-
" tors, as it is undeniably juſt, ſo it may be
" vindicated by numberleſs Examples[1]. *Romu-*

[1] *Remus* is generally reported to have been killed by his Brother *Romulus*, for contemptuouſly jumping over the low Walls of his little City.

That *Nero* poiſon'd his Brother, is too well known to need any Comment. But why our Author calls him *Germanicus*, I cannot perceive; ſince *Britannicus* is the Name given by other Hiſtorians to *Nero's* Brother.

Though it is not clear, from Hiſtory, that *Titus* was poiſon'd by his Brother *Domitian*, yet the Suſpicion was prevalent enough to ſerve as an Example for *Antoninus*. For *Suetonius*, in *Domit.* c. 2. relates, that *Domitian* plotted *Titus's* Death, by all Means both public and private; and when he was dying, order'd all to deſert him as a dead Man; and often rail'd at him after his Death, both in his Orations and Edicts.

The like Suſpicion obtained with regard to *Marcus*. What gave ground to it, was the great Diſſimilitude of Manners between the two Brothers by Adoption; and, above all, the ſudden End of *Lucius*; who was ſeized with Death, while he was ſitting in the Chariot with *Marcus*; as we have before mentioned in the Introduction.

" *lus*,

" *Ius*, the great Founder of this City, would " not bear his Brother only deriding and vili- " fying his Work. I paſs by *Germanicus* and " *Titus*; the former, Brother of *Nero*, the lat- " ter of *Domitian*. *Marcus* himſelf, that ſage " Pretender to Philoſophy and Meekneſs, ra- " ther than bear the Contumely of *Lucius* his " Son-in-law, cut him off by ſecret Treachery. " But I, while Poiſons were preparing for my " Food, and the Sword already lifted to my " Throat, awarded the Blow, and revenged " myſelf on an Enemy (for his Actions ſuffi- " ciently juſtify that Name). And You there- " fore ought to return hearty Thanks to the " Gods, who have ſaved at leaſt one of your " Emperors; and to ceaſe henceforth from all " Party-heats and Animoſities, and paſs the " Remainder of your Days in Security and " Concord, looking only to one Sovereign " for Protection. For as *Jupiter* reigns ſole " Monarch of the Gods; ſo he now gives the " Government of Men into the Hands of One " Supreme."

Theſe Words were uttered with a ſtrong ſtern Voice; after which, having caſt a Look full of Wrath and Terror upon *Geta's* Friends, he left the greateſt part of them trembling and pale; and returned with haſte to the Imperial Palace.

His unbounded Cruelty.

Here he ſoon let looſe his Fury againſt all in his Brother's Service; whether Miniſters, Counſellors, Friends, Officers, or Domeſtics. Neither Age nor Sex was ſpared. Children, and even Infants, were maſſacred; and their dead Carcaſſes, thrown into Carts, with all the Marks of Indignity and Contempt, were carried

ried out of the City, and burnt in promiſcuous Heaps, as every one came firſt to hand. Nor did one eſcape Death, who had the leaſt familiarity or acquaintance with *Geta*. The very Wreſtlers, Charioteers, Players, Muſicians, Dancers, and all he had kept for the Divertiſement of his Eyes or Ears, ſhared the ſame Fate. And ſuch of the Senators as were moſt diſtinguiſhed by Blood or Fortune, were, upon the weakeſt Proofs, nay, upon mere Surmiſe or Hear-ſay, condemned and executed, as Favourers of *Geta*. He even put to Death the eldeſt Siſter of *Commodus*, now an old Woman, and held in Honour by all the former Emperors, as the Daughter of *Marcus*; alledging, as a heinous Charge againſt her, that ſhe was found weeping in his Mother's Apartment, and condoling with her the Loſs of her Son. *Plautian's* Daughter, his divorced Wife, who was now an Exile in *Sicily*; his Firſt Couſin, call'd after his Father's Name, *Severus*; *Pertinax's* Son; the Son of *Lucilla*, *Commodus's* Siſter: in a word, all the Deſcendants of the former Emperors, and thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious Families in the Senate, he cut off; as if he deſigned to extinguiſh the very Reliques of Imperial and Patrician Blood [k].

[k] *Dio* affirms, what is almoſt incredible, that the Number of Men, Women, and Children put to Death by him, as Friends to *Geta*, was no leſs than 20,000. Among theſe was *Papinian*, Prefect of the Pretorians, his own and his Brother's Tutor; of whom *Zoſimus* gives this Character; Ἀνδρα δικαιότατον, καὶ ἐπὶ νόμων γνώσει τε καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίους νομοθέτας ὑπερβαλλόμενον. *A Man of the ſtricteſt Juſtice; and one, who in the Knowledge and Expoſition of the Laws, excelled all the* Roman *Lawyers before and after him.* *Spartian* tells us, *Antoninus* condemn'd to Death all who wore Amulets or Charms about their Necks

And ſending to the ſeveral Provinces, he put to death all the Governors and Stewards, as Friends to his Brother. Not a Night paſſed without the frequent Murthers of Men of every Nation. The *Veſtal* Nuns were buried alive, as having violated their Oaths of Virginity. And, to complete all, he committed an Action ſo ſtrange, that it can hardly be parallel'd.

The Soldiers fall upon the People.

For being preſent at the Races in the *Circus*, ſome of the Multitude mock'd and laugh'd at one of the Charioteers, who was his great Favourite; which he taking as an Affront to himſelf, orders the Army to fall upon the Spectators; and to drag and murther thoſe, who had the Impudence to abuſe the Charioteer. The Soldiers, having got the Power of doing miſchief, did not ſtand long to examine who had ſo raucily affronted the Emperor (for it was impoſſible to find the right Perſon, among ſo numerous a Crowd of People, as No-body dared to confeſs the Truth) but ſeizing all they could lay their Hands on, they either cut them to pieces, or, having ſtript them of all they had about them, as a Ranſom for their Blood, with much ado, let them eſcape alive.

Antoninus leaves *Rome.*

Tormented with the Stings of Conſcience for theſe atrocious Impieties, and grown weary of ſo long a Reſidence in the City, he reſolves to make an Expedition from *Rome*, to review his Camps in other Parts, and inſpect into the Affairs of the ſeveral Provinces. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Italy*, and arrived at the Banks of the *Danube*; where he ſtaid ſome time ſet-

Necks for the Cure of Agues; a Cuſtom very much in uſe both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

tling

tling Affairs in the North, and exerciſing his Body with driving Chariots at the Races, and combating with various kinds of Wild Beaſts. Sometimes, indeed, he would pretend to decide Cauſes of Judicature; but this was but very ſeldom, and even then he huddled up the Matter, deciding upon the firſt Plea, or generally paſſing Sentence before he had enter'd into the Merits of the Cauſe. He brought over to his Intereſt all the *Germans* on the other Side of the River; and conciliated their Affections to that degree, that he made them his Allies, and choſe out the ſtouteſt and moſt comely Men amongſt them for Guards to his Perſon: And oftentimes, rejecting his *Roman* Robe, he dreſs'd himſelf in the Habit of a *German*; and appear'd publicly in a *German* Caſaque [1], laced and embroidered with Silver; and wore a Perriwig of yellow Hair, clip'd exactly after their manner of Tonſure. This mightily pleaſed the Barbarians; who were exceſſively fond of him upon that Account. Nor were the *Roman* Soldiers leſs affected to him, by reaſon of the frequent Donatives he ſo laviſhly diſtributed amongſt them, and becauſe he did every thing as a common Soldier. For whether a Trench was to be dug, or a Bridge built over any River, or a Cavity filled up with Earth, or whatever was the Taſk, his Hand was firſt put to the Work, and he

[1] There was another ſort of Cloak brought by *Antoninus* from *Gaul* to *Rome*. It had a Hood joining to it, to cover the Head, and hung quite down to the Ancles. This he forced the People and Soldiery to wear; and from thence he got the Name of *Caracallus*; under which we find him mention'd by ſeveral Writers: For the ancient *Gauls* call'd this ſort of Cloak *Caracalla*.

con-

conſtantly underwent his ſhare of the Labour. His Table was homely and frugal; and he often ate and drank out of wooden Diſhes, always making uſe of extemporary Bread; the Corn of which he firſt ground with his own Hands, to a Quantity ſufficient for one Perſon, then form'd it into a Lump, and afterwards baked it himſelf upon the Coals. Thus deſpiſing every thing that was nice or dainty, he lived on the meaneſt Food, and ſuch as might eaſily be got by the pooreſt of the Soldiers; and ſeemed fonder of being called by the Army their Fellow-Soldier than their Emperor. Whenever he march'd, it was generally on foot like the reſt, and but very ſeldom on horſeback, or in a Chariot. Beſides, he carried his own Arms; and ſometimes bore on his Shoulders the public Standards and Enſigns of the Army, though very long, and loaded with Gold and other ſacred Ornaments, ſo weighty, that it was a Burden for the ſtrongeſt Soldier. By theſe and the like Offices, he won the Eſteem of the Army; who at once loved him as a good Officer, and admired him as a ſtout and hardy Soldier. For it was next to a Miracle, that ſo much Strength and Fortitude could be lodged in a Man of ſo little a Size.

He affects to be *Alexander the Great.*

When he had regulated the Camp on the *Danube*, he deſcended into that Part of *Thrace* that borders on *Macedonia*; where he preſently ſtarts up another *Alexander the Great*. For he renewed the Memory of that King every where, and ordered his Pictures and Statues to be erected in all the Cities; and filled the Capitol and other Temples at *Rome* with Images, to ſhew that *Alexander* and He were congenial, that the

Suol

Soul of the *Macedonian* lived again in the *Roman*! And it was not without Laughter, that we ſaw in ſeveral Pictures, the Forms of one Body under one Head with a double Face, repreſenting at once *Alexander* and *Antoninus*. He now appeared in a *Macedonic* Habit, with a *Cauſia* on his Head, and Pantofles on his Feet. He picked out a Corps of young Soldiers, and called them his *Macedonian* Phalanx; and ordered their Officers to aſſume the Names of *Alexander's* Generals: And having ſent for ſome Youths from *Sparta*, he calls them his *Laconic*, and *Pitanate Cohort* [m].

Theſe Regiments being completed, and every thing ſettled in the beſt Order the Circumſtances of each City permitted, he haſtens to *Pergamus* in *Aſia*, with Intent to apply to *Æſculapius* for the Recovery of his Health. Where when he was

He goes to *Pergamus*.

[m] A Body of Forces ſo call'd from *Pitane*, a City in *Æolia*, mention'd by *Herodotus*, lib. i. Theſe came into *Laconia* and ſettled a Colony; the chief Town of which they call'd, after the Name of their old City, *Pitane*. *Herodotus*, lib. iii. aſſures us, he met *Archias* at *Pitane*: *For* Archias (ſays he) *was one of that People*. The ſame Author, lib. ix. mentions the *Pitanate Cohort* led by *Amompharetus* in the Army of the *Lacedæmonians*, of which *Pauſanias* had the chief Command. But *Thucydides*, Præfat. ad Bell. *Peloponn.* denies that the *Pitanate Cohort* ever belonged to the *Lacedæmonians* at all, and obliquely glances at *Herodotus* for his want of Veracity. Be this as it may, the Fame of the *Pitanate Cohort* was highly extolled by Writers of latter Ages; and they were thought (as *Alexander ab Alexandro* obſerves lib. i. c. 5.) the Flower of the *Spartan* Troops, and were kept as a *Corps de Reſerve*, never to be uſed but in the Extremity of Danger. The Number of Men that formed this *Dernier Reſort* is very uncertain. *Ephorus*, *Caliſthenes*, and *Polybius*, vary in their Accounts of the *Spartan* Cohorts; and make their Complements from 500 to 900 Men. Vid. *Plut.* in *Pelopidas*.

arrived,

arrived, and had amuſed himſelf with Dreams as long as he thought fit, he went to *Ilium*; and ſurveying all the Reliques of the City, he came at laſt to *Achilles's* Tomb; where, adorning himſelf with Garlands, and all ſorts of fine Flowers, he would now mimic *Achilles*: But wanting ſomebody for a *Patroclus*, he deviſed the following Freak.

He performs Funeral Honours to the Shade of *Achilles*.

He had a Favourite, named *Feſtus*, one of his Freedmen, and Chief of the *Imperial Remembrancers* [o]. This Man died while he was at *Ilium*, deſignedly taken off (as ſome report) by Poiſon, that he might be buried after the Man-

[n] To underſtand this, the Reader muſt be inform'd, that, for Recovery from Sickneſs, the Ancients brought the Patient into the Temple of *Æſculapius* the God of Phyſic; where he was to compoſe himſelf on a Couch, and the God of the Place was ſuppoſed to viſit him in his Sleep. Accordingly, whatever the ſick Perſon dream'd of, that was thought to be the Remedy preſcribed by *Æſculapius* for his Recovery. *Plautus* mentions this Cuſtom in his *Curculio*, Act. i. Scen. 1. But *Ariſtophanes*, in his Comedy intituled *Plutus*, or *Wealth*, gives a more copious Deſcription of the Ceremony. For in the 2d Scene of the 3d Act, *Cario* is introduced recounting all the Particulars made uſe of on this Occaſion; ſuch as waſhing the Patient *Plutus*, who was to be healed of his Blindneſs, compoſing him in juſt Order, with the whole Apparatus of Divine Service perform'd to the God of Phyſic. The *Egyptians* obſerved much the like Ceremony in the Temple of their Deity *Serapis*; to whom the Sick among them had recourſe for the Recovery of their Health.

[o] The *Romans* call'd theſe Remembrancers, *Dictatores ad memoriam*, or *memoriæ*; *Dictators of Memoirs*. Their Office was, to ſee that all Occurrences worthy the Emperor's Memory ſhould be ſet down in Commentaries, or Day-books; that ſo they might, on any Emergency, have recourſe to thoſe Commentaries, and ſee what Meaſures were taken in parallel Caſes. Beſides this, if the Emperor deſigned to ſend Orders, write Letters, or tranſact any

ner of *Patroclus*; but others ſay, he died a natural Death. *Antoninus* orders his Body to be carried forth, and a Pile to be built with large quantities of Wood: And having laid the Corpſe on the Pile, and ſacrificed Creatures of various kinds, he ſets fire to the Wood, and holding a Vial in his Hands, makes a Libation to the *Winds*, and repeats the Funeral Prayers. But being very thin-hair'd, and wanting Hair to put into the Fire according to the uſual Cuſtom, he excited a great Laughter among the Spectators. However, he cut off what Hair he had, and performed the Ceremony as well as he could. Of all great Generals he moſt admired two, *Sylla* the *Roman*, and *Hannibal* the *Libyan*; to whom he raiſed ſeveral Statues and Images.

Again he departed from *Ilium*, and paſſing through the other *Aſia*, and *Bithynia*, and the reſt of the Nations, he orders in every Place what he would have done, and procedes to *Antioch*; where he was ſplendidly entertained, and tarried ſome time. After which, he ſets out for *Alexandria*, pretending he had a Deſire to ſee the City built by *Alexander*, and apply to the God [P] they moſt religiouſly adore in thoſe

He goes to *Alexandria*.

Affair of Government, which the preſent time would not permit; the Remembrancer was ordered to make a Memorandum of the thing, that by theſe means nothing of Importance might be neglected through any Failure of the Prince's Memory.

P The God here mentioned was *Sarapis*, or *Serapis*, the principal Deity of the *Alexandrians*. By *Serapis*, and *Iſis* (which ſignifies *a Wife*) among the *Egyptians*, was meant *Heaven* and *Earth*, the ſame as by *Saturn* and *Ops* among the *Latins*, as *Varro*, De ling. *Lat.* lib. iv. learnedly obſerves. From the Conjunction of theſe two, as Male and Female, ariſe the firſt Origins of all Things. Sometimes the *Egyptians* called this Deity *Apis*; which in their Lan-

Parts. Theſe were his ſpecious Pretexts, the Worſhip of the Deity, and the Memory of the Hero. Hecatombs therefore are ordered to be got ready, and Preparations made for religious

guage ſignifies *Fiery*. The *Greeks* call'd him Ἔπαφος, from ἐφάπτω, *I kindle*, or *burn*. So *Herodotus*, lib. ii. Ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστι Ἔπαφος. Apis *in the* Greek *Tongue is* Epaphus. This Name was given him from the *fiery*, or *ethereal* Nature of the Heavens; Fire, according to moſt Philoſophers, being the firſt Seed or Principle of Creation; which operating on the Earth, the cold moiſt Part, cauſed the Production of Animals. The ſame Propriety is in the Name *Serapis*, from שָׂרַף *Saraph*, *He burned*. In the Sacred Writings שְׂרָפִים *Seraphim*, denotes, not only an Order of *Fiery Angels*, but *hot* Creatures, and particularly Fiery Serpents. In *Numb.* xxi. we are told, the *Iſraelites* were bitten by Fiery Serpents, and God commanded *Moſes* to lift up שָׂרָף *Saraph*, a *Fiery* Serpent, that they who were bitten by הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשְּׂרָפִים *The Fiery Serpents*, might by looking on it be cured of their Wounds. And, tho' our learned *Selden* thinks otherwiſe, it ſeems to be this *Serapis*, or Fiery God, of the *Egyptians*, that the *Iſraelites*, after they came out of *Egypt*, worſhipped in the Form of a Golden Calf. For *Herodotus*, lib. iii. aſſures us, that the *Apis* worſhipped by the *Egyptians* was a Calf; which, they pretended, was ſtruck with Fire from Heaven, and then diſappeared for a time; being (as other Authors relate) ſunk in the River *Nile*. The Sick were brought into his Temple for Recovery, in the ſame manner as we have, in Note [n], obſerved of *Æſculapius*.

This *Serapis* of the *Egyptians* was, at their firſt receiving *Chriſtianity*, often confounded with *Chriſt*. Thus *Flavius Vopiſcus*, in his Life of *Saturnine*, cites a Letter to the Conſul *Servian*, written by *Adrian*, in whoſe Reign the *Alexandrians* found their God; as we have related before in the Introduction. In this Letter, after complaining of the Levity of the *Egyptians*, the Emperor ſays; *Illi qui* Serapin *colunt*, Chriſtiani *ſunt*; *et devoti ſunt* Serapi, *qui ſe* Chriſti *Epiſcopos dicunt*; *They* [of the *Egyptians*] *who worſhip* Serapis *are* Chriſtians; *and ſuch as are devoted to* Serapis *call themſelves Biſhops of* Chriſt. And a little after; *Ipſe ille Patriarcha, quum* Ægyptum *venerit, ab aliis* Serapidem *adorare, ab aliis cogitur* Chriſtum; *Their Patriarch himſelf, when*

Ceremonies of all ſorts. Which coming to the Ears of the *Alexandrian* Populace, as they are a People of exceeding Levity, and eaſily affected by the ſlighteſt Impreſſions, they were tranſported at the News of the Emperor's great Kindneſs and Condeſcenſion: And prepared for his Reception in a manner more pompous than what was ever provided for any King before. Inſtruments of every kind of Muſic, diſpoſed in different Places, ſounded in various Conſorts through all the City; Perfumes and fragrant Spices breath'd grateful Odours in every Paſſage; Flambeaux and Tapers illuminated the Streets; and all his Way was ſtrewed with Flowers.

As ſoon as he entred the City with his whole Army, he went firſt to the Temple, ſacrificed many Hecatombs, and loaded the Altars with Incenſe. Thence he proceeded to *Alexander's* Monument; where he pulls off his Purple Robe, his Diamond Rings, his Belt, and every thing that was valuable about him, and offers it at the Hero's Shrine: Which the *Alexandrians* ſeeing, were raviſh'd with Joy; and ſported and feaſted whole Nights and Days, little ſuſpecting his ſecret Deſign. For all theſe Shews

when he comes to Egypt, *is by ſome forced to adore* Serapis, *by others* Chriſt. And in the ſame Letter; *Unus illis Deus eſt. Hunc* Chriſtiani, *hunc* Judæi, *hunc omnes venerantur et gentes*; *They have but one God. Him the* Chriſtians *worſhip, him the* Jews, *him all the* Egyptians, *and thoſe of other Nations.* From all which it appears, that the *Alexandrians* took *Serapis* and *Chriſt* to be the ſame. Nor ſhall we ſo much wonder at the Strangeneſs of their Opinion, if we conſider, that our Saviour tells us, in *John* iii. 14. that the *Seraph*, or *Fiery* Serpent of *Moſes*, was a Type of the Son of Man.

of Favour were but mere Farce; and his real Intent was to cut off the whole City, from a private Hatred he owed them upon this Account.

During his Reſidence at *Rome*, both while his Brother was living, and after his Death, he had frequently been told, that the *Alexandrians* had often mocked and derided him. And it muſt be own'd, they are People naturally fond of Ridicule, and exceeding pert in Mockery and Mimic; throwing ludicrous Jeſts at the greateſt Perſonages; which themſelves are delighted with as ſomething very pretty, but the Perſons glanced at often bitterly reſent it: For this kind of Drollery ſtings deep, eſpecially when the Sarcaſm is true, and the Party is conſcious of the Vice objected. Many Jokes then of this ſort had they paſs'd againſt *Antoninus*; laſhing him for the Murther of his Brother; ludicrouſly calling his Mother *Jocaſta*[q]; and ſneering at

[q] *Jocaſta* was the Name of *Oedipus's* Mother; whom *Oedipus* married, after having kill'd her Huſband. But both theſe Actions were committed through Ignorance. For when *Oedipus* found ſhe was his Mother, and that he had kill'd his own Father, he ran diſtracted, and tore out his Eyes; as we find the Story nobly painted in *Sophocles*. This Sarcaſm ſtung *Antoninus* to the heart. For he had carnal Knowledge of his Mother, or rather his Father's Wife; for *Julia* was only the Parent of *Geta*; and *Antoninus* was the Son of *Martia*, *Severus's* former Wife.

Spartian tells us, *Antoninus* was equally ſneer'd at by the *Romans*, for aſſuming the Title of *Germanicus* after the Conqueſt of the *Germans*. For the Word *Germanus* ſignifies both a *German* and a *Brother*. This Ambiguity afforded matter of Laughter to his Enemies; who, pleaſed with the Conceit, called him *Germanicus*, in Alluſion to his murthering *Geta* his Brother by the Father's ſide. Theſe Half-Brothers were ſometimes called *Germani fratres*, *Brother-Germans*. But it muſt be obſerved, that *Varro*, as cited by

himſelf, that being a very little Man, he had the Vanity to mimic the greateſt and ſtouteſt Heroes, *Alexander* and *Achilles:* All which they meant for Sport and witty Jeſts; but they proved in the ſequel ſerious Evils, exaſperating *Antoninus*, vindictive and bloody enough by Nature, to lay a Plot which effected their Deſtruction.

A.D. 215. *Antoninus* maſſacres the *Alexandrians.*

Having therefore honour'd them with his Preſence at their public Feaſts and Diverſions; and perceiving the City to be filled with the Multitude, that had flocked thither from all the Country round; he publiſh'd a Proclamation, enjoining all the Youth to aſſemble in a certain Plain; for that he deſigned to have another Phalanx conſtituted in Honour of *Alexander*; and as thoſe he had formed before were called the *Macedonian* and *Spartan*, this would, after the Hero's own Name, be the *Alexandrian Phalanx:* But withal, orders them to draw up in Ranks, that at the Review he might examine the Age, Size, and Vigour, of every one he judged fit to be liſted. The Youths were eaſily taken by theſe fine Pretences, and thinking him ſincere, from thoſe Marks of Favour he had already ſhewed their City, came according to Order, accompanied by their Parents and Brothers congratulating them on the great Honour they were going to receive. But *Antoninus* rode ſlowly through the Ranks, clapping them ſingly on their Shoulders, and giving them Commendation in various Terms, till

by *Servius*, ad Æneid. v. ℣ 412. affirms, that *Germanus* ſignifies a Brother by the ſame Mother: And *Virgil*, in the above Place, calls *Eryx*, Son of *Venus*, *Brother-German* of *Æneas*.

his Army ſurrounded them, before they either ſaw or ſuſpected it. When he gueſs'd they were by this time environ'd with a Circle of Arms, and caught as it were in the Toils, having gone through the Review, he withdraws with his Guards. Then, the Sign being given, his Soldiers advance from all Sides and fall upon the whole unarm'd Multitude of Youths, and every body elſe that was within the Ring, butchering them in a various but univerſal Maſſacre; ſome hacking and ſlaughtering, others digging Holes in the Ground, the reſt dragging the Victims, and tumbling them by Heaps into the Pits, till they had made it all one common Grave, and raiſed the Earth into a vaſt mountainous Tomb over their Bodies. Nor were all ſlain by the Sword; but many, who were but half dead, were thrown promiſcuous among the reſt, and ſome were buried alive and unwounded. The Soldiers likewiſe fell, and that to no ſmall Number: For as many of the *Alexandrians* as had any Breath and Strength remaining, laid faſt hold on their Murtherers, and drew them with themſelves into the Pit. So vaſt was the Havock, that the Blood ran in Rivulets along the Plain, and tinged the Mouths of the *Nile*, tho' exceeding wide, and the adjacent Shores, with a ſanguine Dye.

His Letter to the *Parthian*. A.D. 216.

His Revenge thus ſatiated, he takes his Departure for *Antioch*; where, not long after, mightily coveting to take the Surname of *Parthicus*, and to write to the *Romans* that he had reduced all the Barbarians of the Eaſt under Subjection, though in the midſt of a profound Peace, he ſchemed a Stratagem of this nature. He writes to *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, and

and ſends an Ambaſſage, with curious Preſents very valuable both for Materials and Workmanſhip. In the Letters he ſets forth, "That he "deſired to marry the King's Daughter; alledg-"ing, that it would be out of Character, for "him, who was a King and the Son of a King, "to become a Son-in-law to any private Per-"ſon; and therefore he choſe for his Wife one "that was a Queen and the Daughter of a "great King. That the two greateſt King-"doms of the World were this of the *Romans*, "and that of the *Parthians*; which joined by "this Affinity, and no longer divided by a "River, would become one potent irreſiſtible "Sovereignty. That the reſt of the Barbarian "Nations, now under theſe Powers, would by "theſe means be more eaſily kept in Subjec-"tion, whether ſingle Nations or whole Pro-"vinces. That the *Romans* were moſt power-"ful in Foot Forces, and excell'd all the World "in the uſe of Spears, and in pitch'd Battles: "But that the *Parthians* had numerous Troops "of Cavalry, and were far the experteſt at the "Bow. That, when theſe two ſhould be united, "and make all their warlike Preparations with "one Conſent, it would be no difficult Mat-"ter, under one Diadem, to reign over all the "inhabited World. That the Productions and "Manufactures of *Parthia* were the moſt fra-"grant Spices; and the richeſt and fineſt Works "of the Loom: And the *Romans*, on the other "hand, had plenty of precious Metals, and "wrought with the moſt curious and wonder-"ful Art. That theſe Commodities would now "be no longer imported by Merchants in ſmall "Quantities, and by ſecret and illicit Traffic;

" but, when by the Union of the two King-
" doms there ſhould be one Land and one So-
" vereignty, the Enjoyment of all theſe Goods
" would be common to both by a mutual un-
" prohibited Commerce."

The *Parthian's* Anſwer.

At the receipt of theſe Letters, the *Parthian* at firſt made a peremptory Refuſal; ſaying, " That a Marriage with a Barbarian was very " improper for a *Roman*. For what Harmony " could there be between a Pair, who neither " underſtood one the other's Language, and " whoſe Diet and Utenſils were utterly contra- " rious? That there were many Ladies among " the *Romans* of good Birth, one of whom the " Emperor might chuſe for his Wife; and with " him was *Arſacides*, a proper Match for his " Daughter: And therefore there was no Rea- " ſon why either of the Nations ſhould be adul- " terated by a foreign Bed." This Anſwer he at firſt wrote back; but when *Antoninus* ply'd him cloſe with Preſents, and declared with ſolemn Oaths his Eagerneſs for the Match, and how willing he was to confirm their mutual Alliance and Amity, the Barbarian at laſt was credulous enough to conſent; and promiſing him his Daughter, calls him now his future Son-in-law.

A.D. 217. *Antoninus* enters *Parthia.*

The Fame of which being ſpread, the *Parthians* got every thing in readineſs for the Reception of the *Roman* King; and rejoiced at the Hopes of an everlaſting Peace. *Antoninus*, having paſt the Rivers unmoleſted, rode into the *Parthian* Territories, as now his own; and while Sacrifices were perform'd for him in every Place, the Altars hung with Garlands, and Oblations offered of ſweet Spices and all ſorts of odo-

odoriferous Incenſe, he ſeem'd very well pleaſed with the Honours given him by the Barbarians. But the greateſt part of his Journey being finiſhed, when he was approaching the Royal Seat of *Artabanus*, the King could not contain himſelf, but went out to meet his Daughter's Spouſe and his own Son-in-law in the Plain before the City: And the whole Multitude of the Barbarians, as at a mirthful Feſtival, being crowned with Garlands of all ſorts of Flowers the Country afforded, and dreſſed in long Robes variegated with Gold and curious Dyes of different Colours, came ſkipping along in muſical Meaſure to the blithful Sounds of Flutes, Pipes, and Tabors. For they are mightily delighted with theſe ſorts of merry Dances, eſpecially when they are a little elevated with Wine.

When they were all aſſembled, they alighted from their Horſes; and, having laid aſide their Quivers and Bows, fell to making Libations and carouſing in Honour of the Match. The greateſt part of the Nation was there; and ſtood as regardleſs of Order, as they were fearleſs of Danger; every one puſhing and crouding to get a Sight of the new Bridegroom: When all on a ſudden *Antoninus* gives the Signal to his Army to fall on and maſſacre the Barbarians; who, frighted at the unexpected Treachery, turn'd their Backs and fled. The *Romans* purſued, killing or wounding all they came up with. *Artabanus*, ſnatch'd up by his Body-Guards, and put upon a Horſe, narrowly eſcaped with a few of his Attendants. The reſt of the Multitude were cut to pieces, being without their chief Safeguard, their Horſes, which they had ſent away to graze; nor could they eſcape

The *Parthians* treacherouſly maſſacred.

eſcape by their Heels, for their long looſe Robes hung down to their Ancles, and greatly embaraſs'd their Flight; and Quivers and Bows they had none: For what need was there of Arms at a Wedding? *Antoninus*, having made a great Slaughter among the Barbarians, and taken immenſe Plunder, and Thouſands of Captives, march'd off unmoleſted; firing the Villages and Cities as he paſs'd, and giving his Soldiers free Licence to rob and plunder all that came in their Way. This unexpected Calamity ſuffer'd the Barbarians.

Having ſcoured through the greateſt part of the Country, and tired his Soldiers with Ravages and Murthers, *Antoninus* returns into *Meſopotamia*. Thence he writes to the *Roman* Senate and People, that he had reduced all the Eaſt; and that the Subjects of the Kingdom beyond the *Tigris* had all ſubmitted to his Power. The Senate, not ignorant of what had been done (for to conceal the Actions of Kings is impoſſible) yet, through Fear and Flattery, decreed him all the Honours of Victory. After this, he remained ſome time in *Meſopotamia*, ſpending his Time in Chariot-Races, and hunting and deſtroying Wild Beaſts.

Audentius and *Macrinus.* The Government of the Army was at this Time lodged in the Hands of two Prefects. One of whom, *Audentius* by Name, was a very old Man, and ſeem'd to have been a good Soldier; but of Politics, and every other Art or Science, was entirely ignorant: The other, named *Macrinus*, was well verſed in forenſic Affairs, and exceedingly learned in the Laws. *Antoninus* would often publicly ſneer at this Man, as neither military nor valiant; and ſometimes

times revile him in a very ſcandalous manner. For hearing that he lived in a more genteel way, nauſeating the coarſe refuſe Food, and ordinary Drink, that *Antoninus*, Soldier-like, was mightily fond of; and wearing a little Robe, or other fine Clothes, more agreeable to a City-Life; he often reproach'd him with Cowardice and Effeminacy; and threatened ſeveral times to kill him. This *Macrinus* moſt deeply reſented; and the predeſtin'd End of *Antoninus's* Life drawing near, there happened the following Accident.

Antoninus was of a very inquiſitive Nature, and loved to pry, not only into the Affairs of Mankind, but even into the Myſteries of the Gods and Dæmons. For ſuſpecting all about him to be Traitors, he was ſo frequently making the moſt ſcrupulous Reſearches into Oracles, and ſending for Magicians, Aſtrologers, and Soothſayers[r]; that not one Profeſſor of theſe

The Emperor ſends to *Rome* to conſult the Magicians.

[r] As we read of no Nation, or Age, that has not made Pretenſions to ſome divine Revelation to inſtruct them in the Knowledge of Things to come; ſo there never was a People that laid greater Streſs upon the Prediction of future Events, than the *Romans*; and that not only under their Kings, and Emperors, but in the middle and moſt flouriſhing Ages of their Commonwealth. They had a College or Chapter of *Augurs*, whoſe Office it was to interpret Dreams, Oracles, *&c.* inſtituted by *Romulus* at the building of the City, and continued down, with Augmentations, through the ſucceeding Ages. Nor was any Affair of Importance, either public or private, ever undertaken without conſulting ſome Divine for it's Iſſue. *Cicero* divides all the various ſorts of Divination into two Kinds, a *natural*, and an *artificial*. Under the former is comprehended Dreams, and every ſort of prophetic Inſpiration, delivered from mere Impulſe of the Mind, without any Aſſiſtance from Art or Learning. The latter takes in all that Variety of Divination, that proceeds upon Principles of

juggling Sects eſcaped his Notice. Till at laſt, growing ſuſpicious of theſe too, and thinking they had regard not to Truth but Flattery in their Anſwers, he writes to one *Maternian*, who had

of Art peculiar to every Sect of profeſs'd Soothſayers. Of this Divination there were ſix chief Sorts in uſe among the *Romans*.

1. The *Obſervation of the Heavens*, or the Art of foretelling Events by Thunder, Lightning, Comets, and other *Phænomena*. This they call'd *Servare cælum*.

2. *Aſtrology*, or the reading the Fate of Terreſtrial Affairs in the Motions, Aſpects, and Poſitions, of the Heavenly Bodies.

3. *Augury*, by which is chiefly underſtood the Prognoſtications made from obſerving the Chattering and Singing of Birds.

4. *Auſpice*, or the Art of Divining, by remarking how the Fowls flew; and in what Manner the Chicken peck'd their Grain, when they were let out of their Coops in order to make the Experiment.

5. *Aruſpice*, or the Knowledge of Events, from inſpecting the Entrails of the ſeveral Beaſts in Sacrifice.

6. *Necromancy*, or the Evocation of Ghoſts from their Graves; done by Spells and Incantations, ſuppoſed to have irreſiſtible Influence on the Infernal Powers.

Theſe were the principal Sorts of artificial Divination. The natural kind of Predictions, by Dreams, oraculous Anſwers, and prophetic Enthuſiam, are too well known to need any Repetition. But beſides theſe there was a third kind of Divination, which does not exactly fall under the former two Diviſions, as it had Recourſe only to what is vulgarly called Chance, without any Pretenſion either to Art or prophetic Madneſs. This the *Latins* call *Sortilegium*, or the *Reading* Mens Deſtinies by *Sortes* or Lots. Theſe were little pieces of Wood, and ſometimes of Earth or other Matter; on which were inſcribed Letters, or Words. The Lots were caſt into an Urn, ſometimes empty, ſometimes full of Water; and, after ſhaking them together, were thrown out upon the Ground; when whatever Senſe could be pick'd out from the caſual Arrangement of the Letters on the Lots, that was ſuppoſed to be the Anſwer of the Oracle. When this ſort of Divination was diſcontinued, another kind of *Sortes* was introduced; which was, to dip into the

the Management of all his Affairs at *Rome*, and whom he judged the faithfulleſt of his Friends, and had truſted with his moſt important Secrets, to look for the beſt Magicians could be

the Writings of *Homer*, *Virgil*, or any famous Poet; and thoſe Verſes which firſt preſented at the opening the Book, were taken for the Oracle. This Cuſtom obtained mightily in the latter Ages; and was frequently uſed by the *Chriſtians*; only, inſtead of Heathen Poems, the Bible was choſen by them for the Book of Divination. Several of the Fathers, particularly S. *Auſtin*, have given their Approbation of this Method, provided it be done, as that good Biſhop cautions, for pious Purpoſes.

There has been a world of Controverſy among the Writers of all Ages, about the Truth or Falſhood of Divination; and what ſort (if any) comes from GOD, and what from the *Devil*. Some have, through too much Folly, given Credit to almoſt every kind of Prediction: Others again, through too much Wiſdom, have dogmatically condemned all. *Cicero* endeavours to prove all Divination, both natural and artificial (as he calls it) a Cheat. But the Arguments he brings are far from concluſive, being chiefly grounded upon Mens Ignorance of the *Reaſon* and *Uſefulneſs* of Predictions: As if his Antagoniſt might not juſtly retort, that innumerable Occurrences happen in Life, of which we can give no *reaſonable* Account from philoſophical Principles, nor do they fall under the Cognizance of any of our Senſes; and as many Works of Creation viſibly exiſt, both animate and inanimate, which are ſo far from being of any apparent *Uſe*, that many of them ſeem uſeleſs, and others are plainly deſtructive. His capital Objection, That Prophecies and Divinations diſagree with one another, does not prove, that none are true; but only (what few ever denied) that the greateſt part were Lies and Impoſtures.

In the ſacred Scriptures, the Dreams of *Joſeph*, *Pharaoh*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, are recorded as Truths. The *Magi* or *Diviners* (for ſo the Word imports) ſeem to have learn'd the Birth of our Saviour from the Aſpect of the Heavenly Bodies. That Miracles may be perform'd by Magicians, and Prophets of *hetorodox* Principles, is plain from the Story of the *Egyptian* Conjurers, who produced ſeveral Plagues, as well as *Moſes*; and from the famous Caution in *Deut.* xiii.

found; and, making uſe of the Necromancer's Art, to learn the Time and Manner of his Death; and whether any one was privately plotting how to ſeize upon the Government. *Maternian* boldly executes the Emperor's Orders; and whether the Infernal Powers really gave him ſuch Information, or whether it was through ſome private Pique to *Macrinus*, he writes back to the Emperor, that *Macrinus* was contriving treaſonable Means for getting the Imperial Dignity; and that therefore it ſtood

xiii. 1, 2. The Witch of *Endor* is a glaring Inſtance of *Necromancy*. And tho' the *Jews* were forbid to uſe foreign Divination; yet that other Nations were no way concern'd in their Prohibition, but that they foretold Events by looking on the Entrails of Beaſts, appears from *Ezek.* xxi. 21, 22. where the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* was reveal'd to the King of *Babylon*, by Inſpection of the Liver, and other Omens; and God himſelf, by that Prophet, ſeems to ratify the Divination. The Text in the original *Hebrew* is; כי־עמד מלך־בבל אל־אם הדרך בראש שני הדרכים לכסם־כסם קלקל בחצים שאל בתרפים ראה בכבד: בימנו היה הכסם ירושלם *Becauſe the King of* Babylon *ſtood at the Chief of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to divine a Divination; he brighten'd Arrows; he conſulted Images;* HE LOOK'D ON THE LIVER. *In his Right Hand the Divination was* Jeruſalem. In this Text the Word tranſlated *Images* is תרפים *Teraphim*, the very Term given to *Laban's* Images ſtolen by *Rachel*; *Gen.* xxxi. 19. which *Laban* afterwards calls his Gods, ſaying to *Jacob*, ℣ 30. *Why haſt thou ſtolen* אלהי *Elohi, My Gods.* Theſe were the Gods by which *Laban divined*, that he was bleſt for *Jacob's* ſake. For in the 27th Verſe of the precedent Chapter, he ſays to *Jacob*; נחשתי ויברכני יהוה בגללך. Which St. *Auſtin* juſtly renders; *Auguratus ſum, &c. I have divined*, or *found by Augury, that* JEHOVAH *has bleſt me for thy ſake.*

I own it appears very improbable, that the Entrails of Beaſts ſhould help to foretell Events; but not more ſtrange, than that Prophets ſhould be inſpired with prophetic En-

Antoninus much upon to take him off. This Letter, ſeal'd up among the public Diſpatches, was given, as uſual, to the Couriers; who, knowing nothing of the Contents of their Charge, rode Expreſs, after their accuſtomed manner, and came to *Antoninus*, juſt at the Time when he was going to the Races, and had already mounted his Chariot.

They delivered him the Pacquet ſafe, in which was the Letter relating to *Macrinus*. But the Emperor, wholly intent upon his Diverſion The narrow Eſcape of *Macrinus*.

thuſiaſm by the Sound of Muſic; which was the Caſe with *Eliſha*, as we are told 2 *Kings* iii. 15. where an Inſtrument was brought and played on, before the Prophet could be elevated to a height of Enthuſiaſm ſufficient to predict the Event of the War with the *Moabites*. It were needleſs to enumerate all the Paſſages in the Scriptures, which mention prophetic Revelation among other Nations, as well as the *Jews*. All we ſhall remark at preſent is, that 'tis impoſſible to overthrow the Certainty of the one, without involving the other in the ſame Confutation; ſince the Objections are equally valid with regard to both. That there was a world of Prieſtcraft and Juggling among the Heathen no-body doubts; and that there was, and is the ſame among the Profeſſors of all Religions, is too notorious to require any Proof. If the Heathen Predictions were often falſe; ſo were thoſe of the *Jews*; as is plain, not only from the famous Prophecy of *Jonah* againſt *Nineveh*, but from *Ezek.* xiv. 9. 1 *Kings* xxii. 22, 23. and many other Places. Were the former paid for their Predictions? So were the latter; 1 *Sam.* ix. 8. In a word, tho' it would be the height of Superſtition, to credit all the ſilly abſurd Stories of Oracles, Augurs, Conjurers, and Fortune-tellers among the Pagans; yet that they ſometimes reveal'd future Events, is confirm'd at leaſt by the Teſtimony of the Scriptures: Nor would the contrary Perſuaſion have ever obtained, but from the narrow unworthy Opinion, that God never deſigned to ſuperintend the Affairs of any People except the *Jews*; but without any regard to the Welfare of his Creatures, ſuffered all the World, except a handfull of Men in *Palæſtine*, to ſhift for themſelves as well as they were able.

at

at the Races, orders *Macrinus* to open the Packquet apart by himſelf, and inſpect the Contents; and if there was any thing of extraordinary Moment, to ſend him word; if not, that he ſhould perform his Duty, as Prefect, in the uſual manner (for he often gave him ſuch a diſcretional Power.) Having left theſe Orders, he procedes to his Diverſion. *Macrinus*, peruſing the Letters in private, came at length to that which contained the Sentence of Death againſt himſelf. Shock'd at the impending Danger, and well knowing the fierce Nature of *Antoninus*, how ready he was to ſhed Blood on theſe Occaſions, and how plauſible an Excuſe this afforded him, he ſecretes this Letter; and, according to Cuſtom, relates the Contents of the reſt to the Emperor. But ſtill he feared, that *Maternian* might again write Things of this kind; and therefore thought it beſt to take the following adventurous Step, in order to prevent the bad Conſequences of Delay.

There was one *Martial*, a Captain of *Antoninus's* Life-Guards, who was a conſtant Retainer to *Macrinus*, and whoſe Brother the Emperor had a few Days before put to death upon a private Calumny without Conviction; and had, beſides, often vilified *Martial* himſelf, calling him Coward, Daſtard, and *Macrinus's* Minion. *Macrinus*, well knowing all this; that *Martial* grievouſly reſented his Brother's Death, and bore his own Ignominy very hardly, ſends for him; and putting great Confidence in him, as one who had been long his Creature, and on whom he had beſtowed many Benefits, adviſes him to watch a fit Opportunity and aſſaſſinate the Emperor. The Captain, influenced by *Macrinus's* Promiſes,

Promiſes, his own Hatred, and a Deſire of revenging his Brother's Blood, readily undertakes the Taſk, and promiſes to execute it the firſt Opportunity.

A.D.218. *Antoninus* aſſaſſinated.

Not long after this Agreement, it happened that *Antoninus* had a mind to go from his Court at *Carrhæ*, a City of *Meſopotamia*, and viſit the Temple of *the Moon*[f]; which the Natives hold in moſt religious Veneration; and is diſtant from the City ſeveral Days Journey. He ſets out for this Temple attended only with a few Horſe; being unwilling to trouble the whole Army, inaſmuch as he intended to return as ſoon as he ſhould have paid his religious Service to the Goddeſs of the Place. But taken by the Way with a deſire of eaſing Nature, he orders the reſt to withdraw; and ſteps aſide to obey the Call, attended only with one Servant. While every one elſe was retiring at a diſtance, with their Backs to the Emperor, out of regard to Decency and Reverence; *Martial*, who had all along watch'd every Moment of Time, ſeeing him now alone, ſtarts on a ſudden, as if the Emperor had beckon'd to him to come and ſee or hear ſomething that had happened, and ruſhing upon him behind his Back, as he was

[f] *Carrhæ* is the Place mentioned in the Old Teſtament under the Name of *Charan*, where *Abraham* dwelt. The Temple of *the Moon*, that *Antoninus* was going to viſit, was at *Edeſſa*, a City of the *Oſrhoenes*. The Deity *Herodian* here calls Σελήνη, *The Moon*, is by *Spartian* named, in the Maſculine Gender, *Lunus Deus*, *The Moon-God*. For the Eaſtern Nations commonly made the Moon a God, not a Goddeſs. And in the Sacred Writings יָרֵחַ *The Moon*, is not Feminine but Maſculine. But of the Confuſion of the Sexes in the Heathen Gods, ſee the Note [c d] in the next Book.

uncovering his Thighs, ſtabs him with a Dagger he had conceal'd for the purpoſe; and as the Weapon was directed to a critical Place (for it pierced exactly between the Joints) the Wound was mortal, and *Antoninus* fell unexpecting, and therefore undefended.

Martial kill'd.

The fatal Wound being given, *Martial* ſprings upon his Horſe and makes off; but the *German* Horſe-Guards, *Antoninus's* chief Favourites and vigilant Defenders, who had not retired ſo far as the reſt, were the firſt who ſaw what was done; and purſuing *Martial* with full Speed, hurl'd their Darts at him, and tumbled him dead from his Horſe.

The reſt of the Soldiers, ſeeing what had happened, ran up to the Place: And *Macrinus* was the firſt to lament the Emperor's Death; and, ſtanding over the dead Body, pretended to mourn bitterly. And the whole Army, tho' much concern'd for the Loſs of him they look'd upon rather as a Fellow-Soldier and Companion, than a Sovereign, yet for a long while had not the leaſt Suſpicion of *Macrinus*; but thought *Martial* had only proſecuted his own private Revenge. They therefore returned to their Tents; and *Macrinus* having committed the Body to the *Fire*, and collected the Aſhes in an Urn, ſent them to his Mother, who then reſided at *Antioch*, to bury. She, through Anguiſh of Spirit for the Loſs of both her Children by ſuch ſimilar Ends, laid violent Hands on her own Life; whether voluntarily, or by Command, is uncertain [t]. Theſe Fates met

[t] It was cuſtomary for the Emperors, and ſometimes the Senate of *Rome*, to ſend a Weapon or Poiſon to thoſe they deſigned to diſpatch, with this Form: *The Emperor*, &c. *ſends*

Antoninus, and *Julia* his Mother, after having lived in the manner already deſcribed. The whole Time he reigned ſole Monarch, without his Father or Brother, was about ſix Years.

An Interregnum of two Days enſued *Antoninus's* Death; during which the whole Army was in the utmoſt Confuſion and Incertitude, debating who was the fitteſt Perſon to ſucceed him in the Sovereignty. What moſt embaraſs'd them, was the News, that *Artabanus* was approaching with a great and mighty Army, to avenge the Blood of thoſe who had been baſely murthered, in a Time of Peace and pretended Alliance. At length they pitch'd upon *Audentius* for their Emperor, as a Man of a military Character, and no deſpicable Prefect. But he excuſing himſelf upon account of his great Age, they transfer the Honour to *Macrinus*, chiefly through the Perſuaſion of ſome Tribunes, who were, after his Death, ſuſpected to have been concerned with him in the Conſpiracy, and privy to all his Deſigns; as we ſhall ſhew in the Sequel [v]. *Macrinus is made Emperor.*

ſends you this Sword. The Party was obliged to receive it, and kill himſelf; for fear of Death with the utmoſt Tortures. This Act of the Emperor the *Latin* Hiſtorians always expreſs by *mori coegit*; or *ad mortem coegit*; *He forced them to die.* Therefore *Herodian* ſays, it was uncertain, whether *Julia* kill'd herſelf voluntarily, or had ſome ſuch Meſſage ſent her by *Macrinus*.

[v] The Reader muſt not expect any further Eclairciſſement of this Affair in the Sequel. For *Herodian* never mentions one Word more about theſe Tribunes in his whole Hiſtory. Not that he forgat himſelf; but the Hiſtory, as we now have it, is very imperfect, as might be proved by ſeveral Paſſages. Which is the Caſe with all ancient Writings, both ſacred and profane, as we have intimated before.

The *Parthian* approaches with a vaſt Army.

Macrinus therefore took the Government, not ſo much from the Good-will and Faith of the Soldiers, as the preſſing Neceſſity of the preſent Conjuncture. For, while theſe Things were tranſacting, *Artabanus* was at hand with a prodigious Multitude, and a ſtrange Variety of Forces, conſiſting of a great number of Horſe-men, Bow-men, and Cuiraſſiers[w], who fought mounted on Camels and puſhing with Spears of an extraordinary Length. *Macrinus*, being informed of his near Approach, ſummoned the Army together, and ſpoke to this effect.

The Speech of *Macrinus* to the Army.

"That you all lament the Loſs of ſo great "a Prince, or rather (to ſpeak the Truth) of "ſo good a Soldier, is a Circumſtance not at "all to be admired: But to bear the Calami-"ties and Afflictions of Life with Moderation, "this is the Part of wiſe and virtuous Men. "His Memory indeed ſhall ever remain fix'd "in our Breaſts; and future Ages ſhall be told "his great heroic Actions, his uncommon Love "and Affection to his Soldiers; and how rea-"dily he ſhared in all your Toils: And the "Fame of this ſhall crown his Name with Im-"mortality. But now, having paid the juſt "Honours to his Memory, and performed all "the religious Offices due to the Deceaſed, the "Time demands your Care for the preſent Ex-"igence. You ſee the Barbarian approaching "with all the multitude of the populous Eaſt; "and not without ſome plauſible Excuſes for

[w] The Ancients call'd thoſe Cuiraſſiers *Cataphracti*. They were Warriors clad all over in Armour Cap-a-pe. Both Horſe and Foot-Soldiers are mentioned under this Appellation by *Livy* and other Hiſtorians.

"his,

" his Reſentment. For we firſt aſſaulted him, " in violation of the League; and in the midſt " of Peace blew up an unexpected War. Now " therefore the whole Empire of the *Romans* " depends on your Bravery and Faith alone. " For 'tis not now a trivial Diſpute, about the " Boundaries of Lands, or the Currents of Ri- " vers: Our All is at ſtake; we fight againſt " a great King, incenſed at the Death of his " Children and Relations, cut off, as he thinks, " by Injuſtice and Perjury. Let us therefore " take our Arms, and diſpoſe ourſelves, like " *Romans*, in good Order of Battle. For in " this reſpect, the tumultuous Croud of raw " irregular Barbarians, fitted only for a mo- " mentary Conflict, will ('tis very likely) be " their own Impediment: On the contrary, " your good Order and Diſcipline, aſſiſted with " your great Experience in War, will not fail " to effect your own Safety and their Deſtruc- " tion. With this good Hope then let us en- " gage, behaving as *Romans* always ought, and " ever did. For ſo doing, you will repulſe the " Barbarians; and having acquired great and " laſting Glory, you will ſhew it to the *Ro-* " *mans* and all Mankind; you will raiſe the " Credit of your former Victory; and Men " muſt then believe, that you ſtole not the Ad- " vantage by Fraud and Treachery, but con- " quered your Enemies by the Force of Arms " and ſuperior Proweſs."

His Speech ended, when the Soldiers ſaw the preſſing Neceſſity of the Time, they drew up in Order, and remained under Arms. At the Riſing of the Sun, *Artabanus* appear'd, at the Head of an Army almoſt innumerable. The

The Battle of the *Romans* and *Parthians*.

Barbarians, after ſaluting the *Sun*, according to their accuſtomed manner, and raiſing a horrible Noiſe confuſed with the Clang of Armour and the Shouts of the Multitude, rode in furiouſly upon the Enemy, pouring whole Volleys of Arrows before them: But the *Romans*, being drawn up in regular and firm Order, with their own Cavalry and the Moors diſpoſed in each Wing, the Center thick and well form'd, and the Vacancies fill'd up with the light-arm'd Troops, who were capable of making the moſt active Excurſions, ſuſtain'd the Charge, and made a vigorous Reſiſtance. The Barbarians, with their Showers of Arrows, and the long Spears of the Cuiraſſiers puſhing from the Camels and Horſes, greatly annoyed their Enemies at a diſtance: On the other hand, the *Romans* had much the Advantage of thoſe they could engage in cloſe Fight. But when the Enemy's Cavalry, much ſuperior in Number, and the huge multitude of Camels overbore their Ranks; they made a feint Retreat, and threw down Caltrops, and ſeveral other ſpiky Machines made of Iron, with ſharp-pointed Rowels; which, being cover'd with Sand, and not ſeen by the Cavalry and Cameleers, did them great Damage. For the Horſes trampling on the Spikes, and eſpecially the Camels, which are by Nature very tender-hoof'd Creatures, ſtumbled and halted with the Wounds, and flung their Riders: And the Barbarians beyond the *Tigris*, as long as they fight on Camels or Horſes, are very vigorous; but when they diſmount or fall off, are eaſily taken, not being able to ſupport a cloſe Engagement. Nor are they very expeditious either in Flight, or Purſuit (when it happens) becauſe their long looſe

looſe Garments hanging down to their Ancles are a great Impediment. The Action therefore laſted, the firſt and the ſecond Day, from Morning till Evening, and the Night only interrupted the Battle; when both Parties returned to their Camps as Victors.

The third Day they came into the Plain; when the Barbarians, as they had much the Advantage in Number, endeavoured to environ the *Romans*, and attack them in Front and Rear. But the *Romans* form'd no more in deep Phalanx, but extending their Front, prevented the Enemy's Deſign of out-flanking them. Such Numbers fell on both Sides, that the Plain was filled with the Carcaſes of Men and Beaſts, and the Dead lay piled in vaſt Heaps, eſpecially the Camels, which tumbled one upon another. This greatly impeded the Action; for neither Party could ſo much as diſcern their Foe, for the great and almoſt unpaſſable Hills of accumulated dead Bodies, which roſe like a Mound betwixt them. As therefore it was impracticable to return to the Charge, each Army drew off again, and retired to their Camp. The Battle renewed.

But *Macrinus* knew well enough, *Artabanus* would not engage with ſuch Fury, nor perſiſt ſo obſtinately, were it not that he thought he was fighting againſt *Antoninus*. For the Barbarians ſeldom rally; but are eaſily tired, and ſoon deſiſt, if they cannot carry their Point at the firſt Onſet. On the contrary, they now perſevered, and ſeemed determined to renew the Battle, as ſoon as they had carried off and burnt their Dead; not knowing that he, who had been the Cauſe of all this Enmity, was now no more. He therefore ſends Legates to the *Parthian*, with

Advice, "That the Emperor who had broken "the Treaty, and violated the Oaths, was now "dead, and had ſuffered the juſt Reward of his "Perfidy; That the *Romans*, in whoſe Power was "the Empire, had committed the Government "into his Hands; That he neither approved of "the Meaſures had been taken, and was ready "to deliver up all the ſurviving Captives, and "make Reſtitution for what Money and other "valuable Effects had been unjuſtly ſeized; to "receive him as an Ally, inſtead of an Enemy, "and to ratify the Treaty with the moſt ſacred "Oaths and Libations."

Artabanus, having read the Letter, and being informed by the Legates, that *Antoninus* was ſlain, judging he had ſuffered ſufficient Puniſhment for his Perjury, by the Murther's being returned upon his own Head [x], and pleaſed with having all the Captives and Money reſtored without more Blood, ſtrikes a League with *Macrinus*, and returns home.

The *Roman* removed his Quarters from *Meſopotamia*, and march'd the Army to *Antioch*.

[x] The Original (in all the Editions I have ſeen) is Τετίς θανάτῳ αὐτῷ ΤΕΤΡΥΧΩΜΕΝΟΥ; which *Politian*, and the other Editors after him have omitted in their *Latin* Tranſlations, as a Paſſage too obſcure to be underſtood. *Henry Stevens*, in particular, ſuſpects it to be corrupt or ſpurious, and ſo leaves it untranſlated. But had that learned Editor conſider'd, that there is only a ſmall Error of the Librarian in writing τέλεϒχωμένῳ, inſtead of τέλοχωμένῳ, the Senſe would have then plainly appeared to him to be (agreeably to what I have render'd it) that the Death he ſo unjuſtly inflicted upon others, was, as it were, by the *Rotation* of Fortune *wheel'd* back on himſelf.

HERO-

HERODIAN.

BOOK V.

AFTER what manner *Antoninus* reign'd, the Conſpiracy form'd againſt his Life, how he was ſlain, and by whom ſucceeded, has been related in the Book before this. *Macrinus*, after his Arrival at *Antioch*, writes a Letter to the *Roman* People and Senate to this purport. A.D. 218.

Macrinus's Letter to the *Roman* People and Senate.

" As you are no Strangers to the whole Tenor of my paſt Life; and my natural Inclination to Lenity and Goodneſs, ſufficiently manifeſted in my Diſcharge of that high Office with which I was lately veſted; an Office little inferior in Power to the Imperial Sovereignty; ſince the Emperor himſelf entruſts his Safety to the Faith of the Prefects of the Camps; I think it ſuperfluous to detain you with a multitude of Words. For you well know I always diſapproved the late Emperor's Meaſures, and have often, for your Sakes, expoſed my Life to manifeſt Hazards, while he, ever prone to credit the moſt ill-grounded Calumnies, was perpetually venting his Fury againſt you. Hence it was, that he uſed publicly to revile me; and blame, in the moſt oppro-

" opprobrious Terms, my moderate and hu-
" mane Diſpoſition towards thoſe who were
" under my Command, depreciating it with the
" ignominious Names of Indolence and Effemi-
" nacy. For, delighting in Flattery, he thought
" thoſe his affectionate and faithful Friends, who
" prompted him to Cruelty, and indulged the
" natural Propenſity of his Spirit, awaking his
" Anger by malicious Slanders. On the other
" hand, I, from the Beginning, was always a
" Lover of Meekneſs and Moderation. We
" have therefore finiſh'd an important War with
" the *Parthian*, where the whole *Roman* Em-
" pire was at ſtake: In which we behaved our-
" ſelves like Men; nor were we worſted by our
" Enemies in the Field; but made an honour-
" able Peace with a great Monarch at the Head
" of a numerous and puiſſant Army; and have
" now for a faithful Ally, him who before was
" a very formidable Enemy. My Adminiſtra-
" tion ſhall be without Blood; all under me
" ſhall live free and ſecure; and the Govern-
" ment ſhall appear more an Ariſtocracy than
" a Monarchy. Nor let any contemptuouſly call
" it a Fault of Fortune that has raiſed me to
" this high Honour, from no nobler a Condi-
" tion than the Equeſtrian Order: For where
" is the Advantage of Nobility, unleſs accom-
" panied with Goodneſs and Humanity? The
" Gifts of Fortune are often conferred on the
" Undeſerving; but the Virtues of the Mind
" give to every Man his proper Glory. Great-
" neſs of Birth, Riches, and every thing of this
" ſort that Mankind call Happineſs, can merit
" no juſt Praiſe; becauſe they are beſtowed on
" us by other Perſons: But to ſuccede by Cle-
" mency

" mency and Goodneſs, as it excites Admira-
" tion, ſo it likewiſe procures Eſteem and Com-
" mendation. What Profit did you receive
" from the Nobility of *Commodus?* Or how
" were, you the happier from *Antoninus* ſucced-
" ing his Father in the Empire? Such Men, as
" it were demand the Empire by an Hereditary
" Right; and commonly abuſe and diſgrace it
" as a private Patrimony: But they who receive
" it as your Gift are bound in a Bond of ever-
" laſting Gratitude; and perpetually endeavour
" to repay their Kindneſs, who are beforehand
" with them in the Obligation. Beſides, the
" illuſtrious Deſcent of Patrician Sovereigns
" ſerves to encourage them in Pride, and Con-
" tempt of their Subjects; whom they look
" down on, as much their Inferiors: But they
" who are raiſed to this Dignity from a mode-
" rate Power, regard it as a Reward for their
" Labours, and render their wonted Reverence
" and Honour to thoſe who formerly were their
" Superiors. For my part, it is my Deſign to
" do nothing without your Authority; but to
" make uſe of your Aſſiſtance and Counſel in
" the Adminiſtration of Affairs: And you ſhall
" live in the Security and Liberty, of which
" you have been deprived by thoſe high-born
" Emperors; and which *Marcus* firſt, and af-
" ter him *Pertinax*, endeavoured to reſtore;
" who both came from being wrapt in private
" Swaddling-bands, to be array'd in the Impe-
" rial Purple. And it is certainly better, for a
" Man to give the firſt Luſtre to his Family,
" and ennoble thoſe who ſhall come after him;
" than to arrogate to himſelf the Glory of his

" Proge-

" Progenitors, and ſtain their Nobility by his " flagitious Morals."

Behaviour of *Macrinus.*

This Letter being read, the Senate expreſs'd their Approbation in loud Acclaims, and voted him all the *Auguſtan* Honours; rejoicing greatly, not ſo much that *Macrinus* had ſucceeded, as that *Antoninus* was taken off; an Event they look'd upon ſo fortunate, that they celebrated it with public Feaſts and mutual Congratulations. For every one (and eſpecially they of ſuperior Authority or Office) eſteemed this happy Turn as a Removal of the impending Sword from his Neck. The Informers, and Slaves who had accuſed their Maſters, were ſoon committed to the Gibbet; and all the City, and indeed almoſt the whole *Roman* Empire were rid of theſe miſchievous Creatures; Part of whom were executed, Part driven into Exile; and if ſome few hid and eſcaped Puniſhment, Fear hinder'd them from being any more troubleſome; So that the *Romans* enjoyed an uninterrupted Security; and there appear'd a certain Reſemblance of Liberty during that one Year *Macrinus* reigned. In this only he was to be blamed, that he did *not* immediately diſmiſs the Army, and ſend every one to his own Home, and haſten himſelf to *Rome*, that longed for his Preſence, all her Citizens continually calling aloud on his Name. Inſtead of which, he ſpent his Time at *Antioch*, nouriſhing his Beard, and walking with an eaſy creeping Pace; being exceeding ſlow and ſparing in his Anſwers to thoſe who came to him; and ſpeaking in ſo low a Voice, that very often he could not be heard. In this he affected the philoſophical Behaviour of *Marcus*; but forgat to imitate

imitate him in the reſt of his Life. For he gave into Voluptuouſneſs more and more every Day, amuſing himſelf with the Diverſions made by Dancers, Songſters, Muſicians, and Stage-Players; quite careleſs about the Adminiſtration of Public Affairs. He wore Claſps and Belts finely embelliſhed with Diamonds ſet in Gold: Which kind of Luxury is not much admired by the *Roman* Soldiers; who look upon it as rather ſuiting Barbarians and Beaux; and therefore could by no means be reconciled to it; but were ſoon diſguſted at his manner of Living, too effeminate for a Man of military Character. They reflected on *Antoninus's* paſt Life; and ſetting his active Soldier-like Behaviour in Contraſt with *Macrinus's* Delicacy, they deſpiſed the latter, in compariſon of the former. What added ſtill to their Indignation was, that, while they lay encamped in a foreign Country, were ſometimes very ſcanty of the Neceſſaries of Life, and could not be permitted to return home, in a Time, as they thought, of univerſal Peace, they ſaw *Macrinus* wantoning in Delicacies, and ſolacing himſelf in all kinds of Luxury. Therefore ſhaking off the Reins of Government, they began to defame him behind his Back; and wiſh'd for an Excuſe, tho' ever ſo trivial, to rid themſelves of the troubleſom Burden. And Fate had decreed, that *Macrinus* was to reign in Pleaſure but one Year, and then to loſe both Life and Empire; Fortune ſoon ſhewing the Soldiers a ſmall and weak, but, as they thought, a colourable Reaſon, for executing what they ſo earneſtly deſired.

There

A.D.219. *Heliogabalus*, Prieſt of the Sun.

There was a *Phœnician* Woman, named *Mæſa*, of *Emeſus* a City of *Phœnicia*; who was Siſter to *Julia* the Wife of *Severus* and *Antoninus's* Mother; during whoſe Life *Mæſa* had lived many Years at Court in the Reigns of *Severus* and *Antoninus*; but, after her Siſter's Death, and the Aſſaſſination of *Antoninus*, had removed, by *Macrinus's* Command, with all her Effects, in order to paſs the Remainder of her Life in her own Country. She was enormouſly rich, having lived many Years under the Influence and Protection of Imperial Power; and being now grown old, reſided at her native Home. This Woman had two Daughters, the elder named *Soæmis*, the younger *Mammæa*; the former of whom had a Son called *Baſſianus*, the latter *Alexianus*, both educated under their Mothers, and Grandmother. *Baſſianus* was about fourteen years old; but *Alexianus* was not yet advanced above the tenth year. They were both Prieſts of the Sun; which Deity the Natives worſhip with ſingular Devotion, calling him, in the *Phœnician* Language, *Helæagabalus*[a]. A moſt mag-

[a] Authors are ſtrangely divided about the right Name of this *Syrian* God, and his young Prieſt, afterwards Emperor of *Rome*. What *Herodian* here calls *Helæagabalus*, others write *Alagabalus*, *Elagabalus*, *Helæogabalus*, *Heliogabalus*, and the Emperor is often call'd in ſhort, *Gabalus*. Beſides this Variety of Names; our learned *Selden*, in his Treatiſe *De Diis* Syris, *Syntagma* ii. has another of his own Conjecture, differing from all the former; and will have the right Term to be *Agalabalus*, from עגל־בעל *Abgol-Baal*, *the round Lord*. But I am afraid this Criticiſm is a little too ſtrain'd; and ſeems rather *making* than *finding* the Etymon. For the ſeveral Names above mentioned, tho' there appears ſuch a Diverſity in the Letters which compoſe them, may all be born, and well enough accounted for, the Difference

nificent Temple is built to him, ſplendidly adorn'd with Silver, Gold, and Brillant Stones of great Value. Nor is he only worſhipped by the Inhabitants of the Country, but all the neigh-

ference between them being only in their Vowels; which every one, who has the leaſt Acquaintance with the Oriental Languages, knows to be far leſs conſiderable than the Conſonants. *Theſe* latter are the radical fundamental Characters, which diſtinguiſh between Word and Word; whereas the former are not dignified with the Title of *Letters*, being only *Marks* or *Points* to direct the Pronunciation; and moſt of them are ſo minute, that no great Streſs can be laid on them, inaſmuch as they are often put one for another by the Eaſtern Writers themſelves, conſequently are more liable to be varied and confounded by *European* Authors. This appears inconteſtably plain, not only from numberleſs Inſtances in the Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, ſuppoſed to be done by the *Septuaginta*; but alſo from all the Names and Epithets of Gods, Men, Countries, Cities, &c. introduced from the *Aſiatic* into the *European* Tongues. And tho' there is often great Confuſion in the Conſonants of Words derived from the Oriental Languages, which, paſſing through ſo many Nations and Ages, neceſſarily contracted the Corruption of their different Idioms; yet this can hardly be the Caſe with the Word under Conſideration; ſince 'tis more than probable, that this young Prieſt, coming immediately from his own Country, knew the right Name of his God too well to be miſtaken: And accordingly, in the Inſcriptions on the Altars and Medals ſtill extant, 'tis always found, ALAGABALVS, or ELAGABALVS.

Nor indeed does Mr. *Selden's* Etymology ſeem to be very accurate or inſtructive; much leſs does it well correſpond to the Deſcription given us by *Herodian*. For what is this *Agalabalus*, or *Round Lord*. The Word גלגל *Ahgol*, commonly ſignifies *ſuperficially-round*, or *circular*, as a Wheel, Ring, or Brim of a Veſſel; in which Senſe we find it in 1 *Kings* vii. 23. where the Circumference of *Solymon's* molten Sea is deſcribed; which was exactly round; tho' the *Ratio* of the Diameter to the Periphery is very incorrect in the Text, *viz.* as 1 to 3, agreeable enough, perhaps, to the Learning of the *Jews* in thoſe Times, and the little Skill the Hiſtorian had in Geometrical Proportions.

bouring Viceroys and Barbarian Kings ſend him every Year very ſuperb Offerings, and Preſents of exceſſive Value. But he has no Image made by Hands, erected as among the *Greeks* and *Ro-*

tions. But ſhould we grant, that עגל ſignifies, in the *Syriac* Dialect, *orbicularly* or *ſpherically* round, conſequently is a proper Epithet for *the Sun*; ſtill it anſwers not the Form of this Image; which, *Herodian* tells us, was *conical*; and that the Reſemblance it bore to the Sun, conſiſted not ſo much in it's Figure, as in the little Protuberances projecting from it's Plane, which the *Syrians* fancied to repreſent the Sun; as if theſe Projections typified the Emanations of Light diffuſed from that glorious Luminary. And a conical, or *pyramidical*, Form was always taken by the Ancients as a Symbol or Emblem of Heat or Fire; but not as an Image of the Sun's Figure; which the Ancients, as well as we, thought ſpherical. Whence the *Epicurean* in *Cicero*, De Nat. Deor. lib. i. contemptuouſly calls him, *Volubilem Deum, a rowling God.*

The Etymon then of this *Syrian* God's Name muſt certainly be אל־גבל *El-gabal*, in the *Roman* Idiom *Elagabalus*, or (which is much the ſame) *Alagabalus*; in the *Greek* Ἡλιογάβαλος, *Heliogabalos*: For the *Greek* Name of the Sun, Ἥλιος, *Helios*, manifeſtly comes from the *Hebrew* אלה *Elah*, *God*. This Etymon is eſpouſed by the learned *Salmaſius*; who ſays, the *Syrians* call'd this Deity אל־גבל, *Alagabal*, or *God of a Mountain*. In which Interpretation, I believe, the learned Critic is miſtaken: For the ſtrict Signification of גבול *Gebul*, is not a *Mountain*, but a *Bound* or *Limit*. And tho' it may figuratively be put for a Mountain, becauſe the Extents of Countries among the Ancients were commonly bounded by Mountains (which is the Reaſon the *Greeks* likewiſe expreſs'd a *Mountain* and a *Bound* by the ſame Letters) yet the literal Acceptation of גבל *Gubal*, ſeems much the beſt to denote the Power of this God; who was call'd אל־גבל *Alagabal*, or *God of Bounds*, a very proper Appellation for the Sun; who by his diurnal and annual Revolutions not only bounds the Days, Years, &c. but is the Source of all thoſe Geographical Diviſions of the Earth into Eaſt, Weſt, North, South, &c. according to his various Riſings, Settings, and Declinations. Hence too the *Greeks* call the Limits or utmoſt Extent of our Sight on

mans, bearing the Figure or Reſemblance of the God; but inſtead of this there is a huge Stone, of a circular Baſe, and gradually leſſening up-

on the Globe Ὁρίζων, *Horizon*, or *Boundary*, in which the Sun always makes his firſt and laſt Appearance. In this Senſe the ſimple Word *Gabalus* may well enough be put for the Name of this young Prieſt. Nor can I ſee how the great *Scaliger* is ſo much to blame, as Mr. *Selden* would make him, for taking the Words, *Iſte Gabalus*, *This Gabalus*, in the Epigram cited by *Capitolinus* (in *Macrino*) to allude to the Emperor *Heliogabalus*. For tho' *Gabalus* ſignifies a *Croſs* or *Gibbet*, yet it evidently is deduced from גבל *Gabal*, he *bounded*; becauſe Malefactors were formerly hung on Gibbets erected at the *Boundaries* or *Limits* of certain Diſtricts; as every one who is converſant in the Writings of the Ancients ſufficiently knows. And that the *Limits* of Lands were diſtinguiſh'd by huge Stones of a pyramidical Figure, like this Idol, appears from that Paſſage in *Homer*, Iliad. xii. ℣ 446; which *Virgil* has imitated, Æneid. xii. ℣ 896, &c.

Spartian's Doubt, whether this Deity was the *Jupiter* (as he phraſes it) or the *Sun* of the *Syrians*, is trivial, the Difference being inconſiderable, or rather none at all. For it was common among all Nations to call their principal Deity, *The God*, or *The Goddeſs*, κατ' ἐξοχήν, *by way of Eminence*. The other Titles given him, were to expreſs their Awe of his Power, or the ſeveral Benefits received from his Bounty: And theſe were different in different Countries. Every one knows, that *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, was often call'd emphatically, *The God of Heaven*, by the *Greeks* themſelves, and confounded with their Ζεὺς, or *Jupiter*. In the Theology of the Heathen, the Sun was often the principal Deity; and ſome of them owned no other God: An Inſtance of which we have in *Herodotus*, lib. i. Θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον Ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θυσίας ἵππους. *They* [the *Maſſagetæ*] *worſhip but One God, the Sun; to whom they ſacrifice Horſes.* The *Syrians* therefore call'd him *Alagabal*, or the *Power that ſets Bounds to Heaven and Earth*. And it ſeems to be in alluſion to theſe Idols, that the Pſalmiſt ſays to his God; *To thee* [is] *the Day, to thee the Night. Thou haſt fitted the Luminary and the Sun. Thou haſt fixed the* גבולות GEBULOTH, BOUNDS *of the Earth. Thou haſt faſhioned the Summer, and the Winter*; Pſal. lxxiv. 16, 17.

R wards,

wards, till it ends in a ſharp Top, like a Cone. Its Colour is black: And there is a ſacred Tradition, that it fell from *Jupiter*. There are certain Eminences or Protuberances in the Stone, repreſenting ſeveral Forms; which, when they look on, they perſuade themſelves, is the genuine Image of the Sun, made without Hands. To this God then *Baſſianus* was *High-Prieſt* (for being the elder Brother, the holy Function was principally perform'd by him) appearing in a Barbarian Habit. His Gown was purple, wrought with Gold; it had long Sleeves, was girded with a Saſh, and hung down to his Heels; his Feet and Legs were covered with embroidered Purple of the ſame ſort, quite from his Nails to his Thighs. On his Head he wore a florid Crown, ſparkling with Diamonds and precious Stones of various Colours. Beſides, he was in the Bloom of his Youth, and the handſomeſt of all the young Men of his Age. All theſe Advantages uniting, the Beauty of his Perſon, the Flower of his Youth, and the Finery of his Dreſs, he might very well be likened to the beautiful Images of the God *Bacchus*.

Mæſa perſuades the Soldiers to a Rebellion.

It happened, while he was performing Divine Service, and dancing in Chorus, after the Barbarian Cuſtom, round the Altar, to the Sounds of Flutes, Pipes, and all ſorts of Inſtruments, that, among others, the *Roman* Soldiers ſtood gazing on him with uncommon Curioſity, knowing him to be of the Imperial Blood, and the Splendor and Beauty of his Perſon attracting the Eyes of all the Spectators. For at that Time the whole Army that defended *Phœnicia* was encamped in the Neighbourhood of that City. Though afterwards they removed, as we ſhall ſhew

ſhew in its Place. The Soldiers therefore daily reſorted to the City, and frequented the Temple to hear Divine Service; at which they took great Pleaſure to look at the young Prieſt, with ſome of their Fellow-Soldiers, who had fled thither from *Rome*, and were Attendants of *Mæſa*. She, as they ſtood admiring the Boy, tells them (whether true or falſe, is uncertain) that however he might be thought to be another Man's Offspring, he was in reality the Natural Son of *Antoninus*; who had deflowered her Daughters, when they were very young and fair, while ſhe reſided at Court with her Siſter. This Story the Soldiers related to their Comrades; and in a ſhort time the Report ſpread through the whole Army; who were told at the ſame time, that *Mæſa* had immenſe Heaps of Money, which ſhe was ready to diſtribute among the Soldiers, provided they would declare in favour of her Family, and bring about the Reſtoration.

The Soldiery preſently came into the Propoſal, and promiſed, that if ſhe would come with her Family ſecretly by Night to the Camp, they would open the Gates, receive all that belong'd to her, and declare *Baſſianus* Emperor and Son of *Antoninus*. The old Lady readily accepted the Offer, reſolving to hazard every thing, rather than live in a private abject Condition: And having left the City ſecretly in the Night, accompanied with her Daughters and Grandſons, and eſcorted by the Deſerters, ſhe came to the Camp, and was eaſily admitted. Immediately on their Entrance, the Soldiery ſaluted the Boy by the Name of *Antoninus*, clothed him in a purple Robe, and protected him within the

She is received, with her Family, into the Camp.

Works. Then, having brought in their Children and Wives, and all they had in the neighbouring Fields and Villages, together with a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions, they ſhut the Gates, and got every thing ready to ſuſtain a Siege, in caſe the Camp ſhould be inveſted.

Macrinus ſends *Julian* againſt the Rebels.

Macrinus was loitering at *Antioch*, when the News was brought him; the Fame of which ſoon reach'd the other Camps; that a Son of *Antoninus* was found, and that *Julia's* Siſter was diſtributing large Sums of Money to the Soldiers. All this was received and credited, and ſoon ſuſpended the Minds of the Hearers; who, eager enough before for a Revolution, through their Hatred to *Macrinus*, were now more incited, by Reſpect to the Memory of *Antoninus*, and (what was the ſtrongeſt Motive of all) the Hopes of ſharing in *Mæſa's* Largeſſes: So that great Numbers deſerted, and fled over to the new *Antonine*. But *Macrinus*, making light of the whole as a puerile inſignificant Affair, and keeping up his wonted Alertneſs, continues himſelf at home, and only ſends one of his Prefects, with a ſufficient Body (as he ſuppoſed) to reduce the Rebels.

Julian is beheaded, and the Soldiers declare for *Antonine*.

Julian (for that was the Prefect's Name) put his Corps under Motion, and advanced to the Works. As he made his Approaches, the Beſieged mounted the Turrets and Battlements, held up the Boy to the Soldiers without, and ſaluted him Son of *Antoninus*; at the ſame time ſhewing them Bags of Money, a very powerful Incentive to Treaſon. The Soldiers, believing him to be *Antoninus's* Son, and exactly like his Father (for they perſuaded their Eyes to ſee the Reſemblance) without longer Heſitation, laid hold

hold on *Julian*, cut off his Head, and ſent it back to *Macrinus*; while they unanimouſly enter'd the Camp, the Gates being opened for their Reception. The Army, thus reinforced, was ſufficient not only to ſtand a Siege, but to ſally out and give the Enemy regular Battle. Beſides, their Power increaſed more and more by the Acceſſion of Deſerters; who, tho' they arrived in ſmall Parties, yet coming conſtantly every Day, very conſiderably augmented their Number.

Macrinus is conquer'd, and runs away.

The News of this made *Macrinus* collect his whole Army, and march immediately, in order to beſiege the Rebels. But *Antonine* led forth his Forces; who ſcorn'd now to wait till they were beſieged; but with great Alacrity and Courage, came out to meet *Macrinus*, and engage with him in the open Field. The two Armies joined Battle in the Confines of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. *Antonine's* Party charged with great Spirit and Vigour, well knowing the fatal Conſequences of a Defeat, and what Puniſhment they muſt expect for their Rebellion: On the contrary, *Macrinus's* Soldiers were very ſlow and languid, and great Numbers went over to the Enemy in the Action. Which *Macrinus* ſeeing, and fearing leſt, being ſtript of his Power and taken Captive, he ſhould be treated with Contumely; at the cloſe of the Day, while the Battle ſtill laſted, he throws off his Imperial Robe, and every other Symbol of Dignity, and, attended only by a few Centurions whom he thought moſt faithful to him, ſecretly makes his Eſcape. He had ſhaved off his Beard, that he might not be known, and aſſumed the Habit of a Traveller; in which Diſguiſe, with his

Head always cover'd, he fled Day and Night, with ſo much Celerity, that he even out-ſtripp'd the Fame of his ill Fortune. For the Officers hurried along their Carriages with great Expedition, as if *Macrinus* was ſtill Emperor, and had ſent them upon ſome momentous Errand.

In the mean time both Armies continued fighting. On the Side of *Macrinus*, only the Body-Guards and Spear-Men (whom they call *Pretorians*) made a brave Reſiſtance; and, being large-ſized and choſen Men, ſtood the Force of the whole Army; while all the reſt fought for *Antonine*. But when, after a long and obſtinate Diſpute, neither *Macrinus* himſelf, nor any Robe or Badge of the Imperial Dignity appeared in the Field, they of his Party were at a loſs what to think of it; whether he was buried under the Heaps of Slain, or had deſerted his own Cauſe and fled. Nor were they leſs undetermin'd what Meaſures to take: For they neither choſe to fight for a Perſon that was no where to be found; and, on the other hand, were very loth to ſurrender themſelves as Priſoners of War at the Diſcretion of the Enemy.

Antonine univerſally declared Emperor.

But when *Antonine* was informed by the Deſerters that *Macrinus* had fled, he ſent Heralds to acquaint them, that they were but laviſhing away their Blood to no purpoſe in the Cauſe of a cowardly Fugitive; to offer a general Amneſty, to be ratified with the moſt ſacred Oaths; and to promiſe they ſhould be his Body-Guards. This was accepted; and they all came over to *Antonine*; upon which, Parties were immediately diſpatch'd to purſue *Macrinus*, who by this time was a great way off: But falling dangerouſly ſick at *Chalcedon*, a City of *Bithynia*, through

through the Fatigue of his hard travelling Night and Day without Intermiſſion, he was found by his Purſuers in a little ſuburban Village, where he had hid himſelf, and his Head taken from his Body. *Macrinus* kill'd.

It is generally reported he was haſtening to *Rome*, in Confidence of the good Affections of the People; but paſſing for *Europe* over the Straits of the *Propontis*, and having almoſt reached *Byzantium*, a ſudden adverſe Wind aroſe, and drove him back to meet his Puniſhment. So near was *Macrinus* from eſcaping his Purſuers; and ſo ignominious a Death was his Lot, while he was endeavouring to return to *Rome*, and to do that laſt, which was the firſt Step he ſhould in Prudence have taken: But he unhappily fell ſhort both in Counſel and Fortune. This End met *Macrinus*; and his Son *Diadumenian*, whom he had made *Cæſar*, ſhared the Fate of his unfortunate Father.

After the whole Army had gone over to *Antonine*, and ſaluted him Emperor, having received the Government, and ſettled every thing in the Eaſt that required immediate Regulation, he continued ſome little time under the Tuition of his Grandmother and the Friends he had with him in thoſe Parts (for himſelf was young in Years, and unexperienced both in Buſineſs and Learning) and then makes ready for an Expedition to *Rome*, at the urgent Perſuaſion of *Mæſa*; who made all poſſible Haſte to return to the *Roman* Court, where ſhe had ſo long reſided. But when the Senate and People heard what was done, they received the News with great Diſguſt: Nevertheleſs, they were obliged

to ſubmit to the Army's Choice; but condemn'd a thouſand times the Indolence and Supineneſs of *Macrinus*; and ſaid, the Evil that had befallen him was imputable to no other Perſon but himſelf.

Antonine performs the Ceremonies to his Country-God.

Antonine ſet ſail from *Syria*, and arrived at *Nicomedia*; where he wintered, as the Seaſon of the Year demanded. He preſently fell to his fanatic Revels, executing his ſacerdotal Function, in which he was bred, to his Country-God, with all its fantaſtic Forms and Geſticulations. He wore very coſtly Dreſſes of Purple wrought with Gold, with the richeſt Collars about his Neck, and Bracelets on his Arms; and a Crown of Gold, ſet with precious Stones of various Colours, ſurrounded his Head in form of a Turban. Thus his Habit was ſomething between the long ſacred Stole of the *Phœnicians*, and the ſoft effeminate Finery of the *Medes*. *Roman* or *Græcian* Garments he utterly abominated, ſaying they were made of Wool, the meaneſt of Materials. Nothing pleaſed his Fancy but the fineſt ſilken Manufactures of the *Syrian* Looms; in which he appear'd in public celebrating the Orgies of his God, with the Sounds of Pipes and Tabors. *Mæſa* was greatly diſpleaſed at theſe Proceedings, and endeavoured, all ſhe could, to perſuade him by Intreaties to change his Habit, and take a *Roman* Robe; intimating, that as he was ſoon to go to the City and enter the Senate-houſe, it might give great Offence to the Spectators, to ſee him in a foreign Dreſs entirely Barbaric, to which they were unaccuſtomed; and look'd upon ſuch fine Ornaments as becoming Women better than Men. But he deſpiſed the Words of the old Woman; nor would

would hearken to any other Perſon: For he let none come near him but ſuch as were of the ſame Principles with himſelf, and a Sett of ſervile Flatterers to ſooth him in his Folly. And being willing to make the Sight of the Habit familiar to the *Roman* Senate and People, and to try, while abſent, how they would bear it, he had a large Picture drawn of himſelf at full Length, exactly repreſenting him in the public Execution of his Prieſt-Office: And in the ſame Piece was the Figure of his Country-God, whoſe Ceremonies he was performing. This Painting he ſent to *Rome*, with Orders to put it up in the middle of the Senate-houſe, in a very high Place, directly over the Statue of *Victory*; that at the meeting of the Senate, every Member might burn Incenſe and make Libations of Wine to the Picture. He likewiſe paſs'd an Edict, that all the *Roman* Magiſtrates, and they who officiated at public Sacrifices, ſhould, before all the Deities they had occaſion to mention in Divine-Service, pay the firſt Reſpect to the God *Helæagabalus*.

When he came to *Rome*, in the Habit we have before deſcribed, the Sight did not much ſurprize the *Romans*, becauſe they were prepared for it by the Picture. The uſual Congiaries being diſtributed to the People for his Acceſſion to the Imperial Throne; he publiſh'd a great Variety of magnificent and ſumptuous Shows: And having built a grand and beautiful Temple to his God, with a great Number of Altars erected round about it, he repaired thither every Morning, and ſacrificed whole Hecatombs of Bulls, and an infinite Number of Sheep; loading all the Altars with Heaps of aro-

A.D. 220. He comes to *Rome*, and performs the ſame Ceremonies.

aromatic Odours of every kind, and pouring out before their Baſes Firkins of the oldeſt and richeſt Wines, till the Streams of Blood mingled with Wine ran all about the Temple. At the ſame time he led his Choruſes round the Altars, to the Sounds of all ſorts of muſical Inſtruments; and Women of his own Country danced with him in Circles about the Altars, with Cymbals or Tabors in their Hands; while the whole Senatorian and Equeſtrian Orders ſtood in a Ring, reſembling the Audience of a Theatre. The Entrails of the Sacrifices, and the ſpicy Oblations, were carried in golden Veſſels, not by Servants, or Men of mean Condition; but the Prefects of the Camp, and other great Officers bore them on their Heads, and march'd in ſolemn State, girded in Tunics reaching down to their Ancles, with long Sleeves, after the *Phœnician* Faſhion, and bearing one Purple in the middle [b]. Their Shoes were made of Linen, ſuch as the Prophets in thoſe Countries wear: And he thought he highly honoured every one whom he made Partaker in theſe religious Ceremonies.

But tho' he ſeemed to be perpetually taken up, in leading Choruſes, and officiating at holy Rites; yet he found Time to put to death great Numbers of illuſtrious and wealthy Perſons, who were accuſed to him as diſliking and deriding his Method of Life. He married a Lady of one of the nobleſt Families among the *Romans*; whom he honoured with the Title

He marries, and divorces his Wife.

[b] By *one Purple* here muſt be underſtood one Stripe of Purple in the middle of the Garment, call'd by the Greeks Μεσοπόρφυρον, *Middle-Purple*. But of the *Laticlavian* nic of the *Romans*, ſee the Note [f], p. 142.

of

of *Auguſta*; but not long after, he divorced her, and ordered her to be degraded of her Honours, and to paſs the reſt of her Life as a private Perſon. After her (that he might ſeem to do ſomething at leaſt like a Man) he pretended to fall in love. The Object of his Paſſion was one of the *Roman Veſtals*; and tho' her ſacred Order enjoined inviolate Chaſtity, and to continue a Virgin to the End of Life; having forced her from the Temple of the Goddeſs, and the holy Conclave of Virgins, he kept her as a Wife; and wrote a conſolatory Letter to the Senate, who were much offended at this Sacrilege and Sin; in which he obſerved to them, that his Fault, if it might be ſo call'd, was the Effect of human Paſſion; for that he was deſperately in love with the Girl; and that the Marriage of a Prieſteſs to a Prieſt was very ſuitable, and reflected Reverence on the ſacred Function. Notwithſtanding all this, he ſoon put her away alſo, and married a third Wife, ſaid to be one of the Relations of *Commodus*.

He marries a *Veſtal*.

He not only thus ſported and trifled with human Matrimony, but he muſt likewiſe find out a Wife for his God; and accordingly ſent for the ſacred Image of *Pallas*, which the *Romans* worſhip kept in ſecret from human Eyes, and had it brought into his own Bed-chamber. Thus he dared to diſplace the *Palladium*, that had never been moved ſince the Time it came from *Ilium*, except when the Temple was deſtroyed by Fire, and convey the Goddeſs into the Imperial Palace, in order to celebrate her Nuptials with his God. But, ſoon after, he ſaid, his God did not like a warlike Wife clad all in Armour; and therefore he commanded,

He makes a Marriage for his God.

to

to fetch from *Carthage* the Image of *Urania*; which the *Carthaginians*, and all the Inhabitants of *Libya*, worſhip with ſuperlative Devotion. For, they ſay, it was firſt erected by *Dido* the *Phœnician*, when ſhe built ancient *Carthage* on the Ground ſhe compaſs'd with an Ox's Hide cut into Thongs. This Goddeſs the *Libyans* call *Urania*[c]; but the *Phœnicians* will have her to be the *Moon*, and give her the Title of *Aſtroärche*[d]. *Antonine* therefore ſent for the Image, together with all the Gold in the

[c d] If either of theſe Words be put by our Author for the *Libyan*, or the *Phœnician*, Name of this Goddeſs, nothing can be more inaccurate or abſurd. And yet this piece of Vanity is very common among the *Greek* Writers; who often fetch their Originations of the Names of Gods, Men, Countries, &c. from a *Greek* Etymon, as if all the Nations in the World, tho' ever ſo ancient or remote, talk'd *Greek*. *Urania*, *Heavenly*, and *Aſtroärche*, *Queen of the Stars*, are *Greek* Appellations appoſite enough to expreſs the Idea the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* had of the State and Power of this Goddeſs. But they have no more Analogy to the Names given to the Deity by theſe reſpective Nations, than what ariſes from the Relation all the *European* Languages bear to the *Aſiatic*; which, it muſt be own'd, is not inconſiderable in many Words even of our own and other modern Tongues; as is viſible enough to every one that has the leaſt Skill in Oriental Learning. Hence it was, that thoſe Ancients who underſtood no more than the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages ſeldom went further back to inveſtigate the Source of thoſe Terms they endeavour'd to explain. Thus the Name of the great God or Goddeſs of the *Aſiatic* and *African* Nations, call'd in the Sacred Writing בעל *Baal*, by other *Bal*, *Bala*, *Bel*, *Belenus*, *Belin*, *Belis*, &c. &c. has by ſome *Greek* Critics been derived from Βέλος, *Belos*, a *Dart*, to expreſs (ſay they) the Swiftneſs of his Thunder, or the Sharpneſs of the Rays of Light *darted* from the *Sun*; to whom *Homer* and *Heſiod* give the Epithet Ἑκηβόλος, *Far darting*. Thus too the Stoic Philoſopher in *Tully*, De Nat. Deor. lib. ii. derives *Jupiter* from *Juvans pater*, *The helping Father*; which would not ſeem ſo abſurd in the Name of

Place, ſaying, the *Sun* and the *Moon* would be a very agreeable Match: And at the ſame

of a *Latin* Deity, were it not that the ancient *Romans* call'd him *Dijovis*, *Vejovis*, *Joviſpiter*, and *Jovis*, which manifeſtly is corrupted from the ſacred Name יהוה *Jehovah*. How far *Juvo*, *I help*, may proceed from *Jovis*, and this from *Jehova*, I ſhall not pretend to determine, any more than what Dependance Βάλλω, *I caſt* or *dart*, may have from בעל *Baal*: But that the *Aſiatic* Terms can be deduced from the *European*, ſeems abſurd to imagine. In like manner this *Greek* Name Ἀρχοαρχὴ *Aſtroärche*, may, in the firſt part of its Compoſition, Ἄστρον *Aſtron*, *a Star*, bear ſome little Reſemblance to the Sound of the Name given this *Deity* by the *Phœnicians*; which, according to *Varro*, *Cicero*, the LXX, and others, was *Aſtarte*, in the Old Teſtament עשתרות *Aſhteroth*, the Deity worſhipped by the ancient *Sidonians*.

It would be nauſeous to enumerate all the trifling Whims of the *Jewiſh Rabbim* about the Etymology of the Name. Some of them, becauſe the Word ſignifies *a Flock*, will have it, that the Idol was adored in the Form of *Sheep*; others, that ſhe was ſo call'd, becauſe ſhe enrich'd her Devotees with *Cattle*; and a great deal of Stuff of this ſort may be found in their Comments. Nor is the Hint of the great *Scaliger* more worth regarding, who in his *Conjectanea* to the ivth Book of *Varro*, De ling. *Latin.* would ſuſpect, ſhe was call'd *Aſhteroth*, *a Flock*, on account of the great Number of Sheep ſlain at her Sacrifices. The Reaſon of her Name, it muſt be confeſs'd, is very obſcure; but the moſt probable Conjecture, in my Opinion, is, that ſhe was ſo call'd from the Power ſhe was ſuppoſed to have in the *Generation* of Animals. For the *Hebrew* Word עשתרות *Aſhteroth*, does not ſo much ſignify a *Flock*, as a *Breed* of Young; as appears from *Deuteron.* vii. 13. where *Moſes* tells the *Iſraelites*; *And* [God] *ſhall love thee, and bleſs thee, and multiply thee, and bleſs the Fruit of thy Womb, and the Fruit of thy Ground, thy Corn, and thy new Wine, and thy new Oil, the Young of thy Kine, and the* עשתרות צאנך *Aſhteroh tſoneca, Breed of thy Sheep.* What ſeems to corroborate this Opinion is, that *Herodotus*, lib. v. ſays, the *Arabians* call'd her *Alitat*, and, lib. i. *Alitta*; not becauſe the *Arabic Halilath* ſignifies a *young Moon*, as *Scaliger* aſſerts, but becauſe ſhe was eſteemed the Goddeſs of *Generation*,

time demanded immenſe Sums of Money to be brought as a Portion for the Goddeſs.

ration, as the Term *Alitta*, qu. *Validtha*, or *Jalidtha*, from ילד *Jalad, he begat*, evidently implies.

Various and innumerable are the Appellations given by the Heathens to their Deities. And thoſe Critics who pretend to make them exactly correſpond in different Nations, undertake a frivolous and vain Labour. They were always confuſed among the ſame People; for then, as now, almoſt every Worſhipper had a different Notion, every Sect of Prieſts taught a different Doctrine, and every Writer gave a different Account of God. If therefore we admit any Diſtinction at all, 'tis little better than a Soleciſm to ſay, Such a Divinity of one Nation is the ſame with ſuch a one of another. *The Moon*, among the *Romans*, was ſometimes call'd *Diana*, ſometimes *Lucina*, and ſometimes *Juno*. And ſome Writers call this *Aſtarte* the *Venus*; others, the *Diana*, of the *Phœnicians*; both of which were often confounded, and taken one for the other: So that the Diſpute is chiefly about Words. *Virgil* and *Horace* ſay, the tutelar Goddeſs of *Carthage* was *Juno*, that being the Name given to the *Queen of Heaven* by the *Romans*; whoſe Women at the time of their Travail call'd her *Juno Lucina*, as we find her invoked in *Terence*: But to think from thence, that the *Africans* and the *Romans* had in every Particular the ſame Notion of her Power, is ridiculous; ſince, as we have juſt now hinted, 'tis hard to find any two Perſons in theſe our own Times, whoſe Ideas of the Deity are exactly the ſame. *Herodian* here calls her *Urania, Heavenly*; which anſwers well enough to the Wife of *Balſamen, The Lord of Heaven*. Nor is it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the *Carthaginian* or *Punic* Title of *Balſamen*, was given to this Goddeſs herſelf, as well as to what they call the *Jupiter* of the *Carthaginians*: For the Sex is often confounded in all the Gods. And 'tis probable, this is the very Goddeſs mentioned by *Plautus*; who, in his Comedy intituled *Pœnulus*, introduces *Hanno* a *Carthaginian* talking in the *Punic* Tongue; who, after being derided by an illiterate petulant *Calydonian* Slave, cries out; *Guneb Lebalſamen veraſan* (for ſo the *Carthaginian* Words ſhould be written) *You are a Thief by* Balſamen, or the Queen of Heaven, *and a Rogue.*

The

The Image being arrived, and placed in the ſame Room with his God, he proclaims a ge-

The chief Cauſe of that great Confuſion of *Sexes* and *Numbers* in the Names aſcribed to the Deity by all Nations ſeems to be this. When they would expreſs the high Ideas they had of God's Might and Majeſty, as well as Goodneſs, they commonly invoked him by a maſculine Name; but if they meant to ſignify their Senſe of his Lenity and Compaſſion, even in the midſt of his Judgments, they choſe to addreſs him in the ſofter Appellations of the Female Sex. Not that they groſsly imagined the ſame Diſtinction of Sexes in the Deity as in Creatures; for they often confounded it in the ſame Name. *Venus* is manifeſtly of a Maſculine Termination in *Latin*, and *Cupido* of a Feminine; yet the former was adored under the Softneſs of a Woman, the latter under the Sweetneſs of an Infant Boy. *Venus* is call'd a God by *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Virgil*, and other *Greek* and *Latin* Poets. *Ariſtophanes* gives her a Maſculine Name, Ἀφρόδιτος, *Aphroditon*. Nor is this to be deem'd a mere poetic Licence; for the ſame Confuſion of Sexes may be ſeen in their Hiſtorians and Orators. *Demoſthenes* begins his celebrated Oration Περὶ Στεφ. with theſe Words; Πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις; *Firſt of all*, O Athenians, *I beſeech all the Gods both Male and Female*. Where he makes no mention of Goddeſſes, but calls them all indiſcriminately *Gods*: And to pretend from ſuch Paſſages that Θεὸς in *Greek*, or *Deus* in *Latin*, is of the common Gender (as they call it) is a ridiculous Figment of half-learn'd Grammaticaſters.

As little Regard is had to *Sex* in the *Hebrew* Names of God in the Old Teſtament. *Moſes*, in his pathetic Expoſtulation with God, *Numb.* xi. 15. addreſſes him in the Feminine Gender, tho' our Language will not admit the Diſtinction in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation: And the *Iſraelites*, *Deut.* v. 27. when they deſired *Moſes* to take the part of a Mediator between God and them, ſpake to *Moſes* (in the original *Hebrew*) as to a Female. Concerning which Places nothing can be more ridiculous than the Comments of *Rabbi Salomon* and other *Jewiſh* Expoſitors; who will have it, that *Moſes* in the firſt Text, and the People in the latter, were ſo frighted, that they ſpake falſe Grammar. For the *Hebrew* of the Old Teſtament often gives Feminine Epithets to Men, when the Actions aſcribed to them are

Woman-

neral Feſtival, to be celebrated by all the *Roman* Citizens and Inhabitants of *Italy*, with all

Womaniſh; and, on the contrary, as often ſpeaks of and to Women in Maſculine Expreſſions, when the Subject treated of is bold and manly, and the Circumſtances deſcribed are more proper to the Male Sex. Nor are Inſtances of this kind wanting in the beſt Heathen Authors, as appears to every careful and judicious Reader; though they are badly accounted for by the low Herd of Scholiaſts and Grammarians. But to return to the Names of the Deity. The LXX frequently render *Baalim* and *Baal* in the Feminine Gender; and St. *Paul* himſelf does the ſame by the latter in *Rom.* xi. 4. *Who have not bowed the Knee to* She-Baal. For the *Engliſh* Supplement [*the Image of*] is a very frigid and unlearned Interpolation. Not to mention the myſterious Name יְהוָה *Jehovah*; the Singular Noun אֵלָה *Elah*, or אֱלוֹהַּ *Eloah*, is evidently of a Feminine Termination. Nor is it only applied to *Militta* (as ſhe is call'd by *Herodotus*) the *Babylonian* Goddeſs, as we find in *Habak.* i. 11. compared with 2 *Kings* xvii. 30. but is alſo an Appellation given to the God of *Iſrael*. Thus we read in *Deut.* xxxii. 17. *They ſacrificed* לִשֵּׁדִים לֹא אֱלֹהַּ *to Shedim, not Elah*; which the *Engliſh* renders, *to Devils, not to God*. But it muſt be remark'd, that the Epithet שַׁדַּי *Shadai* (which ſignifies a *Deſtroyer*) given to God in *Gen.* xvii. 1. and there tranſlated *Almighty*, is of the ſame Root with what they here tranſlate *Devils*, following the Opinion of the LXX. Tho' the LXX themſelves (or whoever was the Author of the Tranſlation vulgarly aſcribed to them) were ſo conſcious of this Difficulty, that they often omitted the Word *Shadai*, when applied to God, and ſubſtituted ſome Pronoun in its Place. So that the *Engliſh* Term *Almighty* is no Tranſlation of the *Hebrew Shadai*, but an Imitation of the *Greek* Ἰσχυρὸς, foiſted into the Copies of the LXX by *Origen*, whoſe Gloſſes the *Engliſh* Tranſlators have too ſupinely followed. For I can ſee no Reaſon, why the ſame Word ſhould be interpreted *Almighty* in the Text of *Geneſis*, and *Devils* in that of *Deuteronomy*. It ſeems more probable, that the *Iſraelites* were blamed by *Moſes* for worſhipping God under the Notion of his Wrath or Omnipotence, when they were taught to do it under a Senſe of his Mercy. For the Relation he bore to them was, that he was the God of their Fathers, who

ſorts of Mirth and Feaſting, both public and private, to ſolemnize the Nuptials of the two Deities.

who brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*; as was perpetually inculcated to them by their Prophets. This may ſuffice to account for the Difference and Indifference of *Sex* in the Names given to the Deity by all Nations.

The next Thing to be diſcuſſed is the *Number*. And here we muſt diſtinguiſh between the Multiplicity of Names, and the Plurality of Gods. The former is very great among their Philoſophers; the latter is not ſo numerous as imagined even among their Vulgar. The *Romans* attributed the Empire of Heaven, the Sea, and Hell, to *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; whom they call *Celeſtial*, *Æquorean*, and *Infernal*, *Jupiter*. *Virgil*, Æn. iv. ℣ 638. ſpeaking of his Power in Hell, ſays, *Sacra Jovi Stygio; Rites to Stygian Jove.* *Homer*, Il. ix. ℣ 457, calls him Ζεὺς καλαχθόνιος, *Subterranean Jove*. Upon which, Madam *Dacier* makes this ingenious Comment; "Les anciens donnoient "le Nom de *Jupiter* non ſeulement au Dieu du Ciel, mais "auſſi au Dieu de la Mer, comme on le voit dans *Eſchyle*. "Ils vouloient faire entendre par là, que c'eſtoit une ſeule "et meme Divinité qui gouvernoit le Monde; et c'eſtoit "ſans doute pour enſeigner cette Verité, que les anciens "Statuaires avoient fait des Statues de *Jupiter*, qui avoient "trois Yeux." *The Ancients gave the Name of* Jupiter *not only to the God of Heaven, but alſo to the God of the Sea, as we ſee in* Æſchylus. *Their Deſign in this was, to ſignify that it was only one and the ſame Divinity, that govern'd the World; and it was undoubtedly to teach this Truth, that the ancient Statuaries made Statues of* Jupiter *with three Eyes.* This learned Lady's Remark is certainly very juſt with regard to many of the Ancients: But it muſt ſtill be owned, that the greateſt Part had an Idea of more Gods than one. All indeed allowed one ſupreme God; and their Notions of the ſubordinate Divinities were much of the ſame nature with thoſe entertained by *Chriſtians* concerning *Devils*, *Angels*, and *Saints*.

In the Old Teſtament the Word tranſlated *God* is generally the Plural אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*. We meet with it firſt in *Gen.* i. 1. where it is applied to the Singular Verb בָּרָא *he created*; to intimate, perhaps, that all thoſe Perfections and Honours, aſcribed to their Divinities by all Nations,

The Proceſſion of the God *Helæagabalus.*

He likewiſe built a rich magnificent Temple in the Suburbs of *Rome*; to which the God was carried in Proceſſion every Year in the height of Summer; when great Crowds of Spectators

or expreſſed by a multiplicity of Names and Titles relative to their ſeveral Ideas of the Supreme God, did as it were unite and co-operate in the Creation of the Univerſe. But as the Comment of *Rabbi Bechai* on this Place is the moſt ſenſible of any of the *Jewiſh* Commentators, and not ſtuffed with ſilly Figments, Dreams, and Fables, ſo common to the *Talmudical* and other *Rabbinical* Gloſſes; we will give it the Reader in his own Words; אלהים פירושן בעל הכחת כלם ומזה הטעם לא אמר אל ולא אלוה כי אם אלהים בלשון רבים: וכן אלהים קדושים הוא כי הוא הכולל הקדושות כלם: וכן דרך הלשון במשלת השפלים; אדונים קשה בלשון רבים: וזה לגודל מעלת האדון ולרבוי מיני הממשלה שיש לו: וזה בבשר ודם אף כי בשם ית אשר מיני הממשלה שלו ואין להם מספר וכל המושלים אין ממשלתם רק ממנו והוא אחד וכחותיו רבים Elohim, *that is to ſay, the Lord of all Powers. Hence it is, that Wiſdom does not ſay,* El, *nor* Eloah, *but rather* Elohim *in the Plural Number. So again,* Joſh. xxiv. 19. Holy Gods *[is] he. Becauſe he includes all Holineſſes. And this is the Cuſtom of the Language in Words expreſſing the Power of inferior Beings.* Thus, *Iſai.* xix. 4. Hard Lords *in the Plural Number: And that on account of the great Superiority of that Lord, and the many Kinds of Dominion in him. If this then be ſaid of Fleſh and Blood; how much more of the ſacred Name; of the Kinds of whoſe Dominion there is no Number; and from whom all Lords derive their Sway? He is One, and his Powers many?* But this Method of uniting, as it were, the Perfections of the Deity in a Singular Verb, is not always obſerved in the Old Teſtament; and *Elohim*, tho' it has a Maſculine Ending, is often referred to Feminine Deities, particularly to this *Phœnician* Goddeſs *Aſtarte*; 1 *Kings* xi. 5. עשתרת אלהי צדנים *Aſhtoreth Elohi Tſidonim*; Aſhteroth *Goddeſs of the* Sidonians. Oftentimes

assembled in Cirques and Theatres prepared by him to please the People with Races, Plays, and every thing that can be supposed to delight either the Eyes or Ears; while Feasting and

times the Word *Elohim*, when relative to the True God, is joined with Plural Verbs and Adjectives; and sometimes has emphatical ה *The* prefix'd to it. Thus in *Gen.* xxxv. 7. *Jacob* is said to build an Altar, because נגלו אליו האלהים *Nigelu elaiu Haelohim*; *The Gods were reveal'd to him.* At other Times *Elohim* is interpreted *Angels*. Psal. viii. 6. *Thou hast made him a little lower* מאלהים *Meelohim, than the Gods.* Psal. xcvii. 7. *Worship him,* כל־אלהים *Col-Elohim, All Gods.* Both which Passages are alluded to by the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* under the Notion of *Angels*. (*Heb.* ii. 7, 9. and i. 6.) Not that the *Hebrew* Word implies *Angels*, but because the Writer of the Epistle copied after the LXX.

From all which Places it appears, that the Religion of the sober Heathen was not so contemptible as is vulgarly imagined; since there is occasion enough given for Men to conceive of *Numbers* and *Sexes* in the Divine Powers, or to worship the One Supreme God under several Names and Relations. And that it was consistent with Reverence to the True God, to have a Belief of other Deities, is plain from many Places in the Sacred Writings, particularly that egregious Instance given in 2 *Kings* xvii. where Lions are said to destroy the *Assyrians*, because they understood not the Custom of the God of the Land, *viz. Judea*; till a *Jewish* Priest instructed them in the Method: After which they lived secure, fearing *Jehovah*, and serving each their own God; to whom they built their respective Temples. The Men of *Babylon* in particular built *Succoth Benoth*, i. e. *The Tabernacle of Daughters*, to their Goddess *Mylitta*; or, in their own *Chaldæan* Dialect, *Mulidtha*, *The Mother*, or the Goddess of GENERATION; an Appellation well corresponding with the *Sidonian Astarte*, or *Ashtoreth*, qu. *The Patroness of* BREEDING; whose Ceremonies were carried into *Africa*; where the *Carthaginians* worshipped her under the Name *Alitta*, or the Punic Title *Balsamen*, or *Baltsamen*, *Queen of Heaven*; call'd here by our Author *Urania*, *Heavenly*; and *Astroarche*, *Sovereign of the Stars*.

Carouſing continued all Night long. The God was brought from the City to this Place, in a Chariot glittering with Gold and precious Stones, and drawn by ſix large white Horſes, without the leaſt Spot, ſuperbly harneſſed with Gold and other curious Trappings reflecting a Variety of Colours. *Antonine* himſelf held the Reins; nor was any Mortal permitted to be in the Chariot; but all kept attendant around him as Charioteer to the Deity, while he ran backward leading the Horſes with his Face to the Chariot, that he might have a conſtant View of his God. In this manner he performed the whole Proceſſion, running backwards with the Reins in his Hands, and always keeping his Eyes on the God: And that he might not ſtumble or ſlip (as he could not ſee where he went) the whole Way was ſtrewed with golden Sand, and his Guards ran with him and ſupported him on either Side. The People likewiſe attended the Solemnity, running on each Side the Way with Tapers and Flambeaux, and throwing down Garlands and Flowers as they paſſed. All the Effigies of the other Gods, the moſt coſtly Ornaments and Gifts of the Temples, and the brillant Arms and Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, with all the rich Furniture of the Palace, helped to grace the Proceſſion: And the Horſe, and all the reſt of the Army, marched in Pomp before and after the Chariot. When he came to the Temple, and had ſet up the God, and performed the Sacrifices and Solemnities before-mentioned; he aſcended ſeveral great and high Towers, built for the purpoſe, and threw down among the Multitude, Gold and Silver Cups, Garments, and all ſorts of Linens; all which they

they were to ſcramble for; beſides a great number of Animals both wild and tame, except Swine, which he abſtained from according to the Law of the *Phœnicians*. In this confuſed Scrambling many loſt their Lives; ſome being trodden under Foot, and others ſtabbed and wounded by the Soldiers Spears; ſo that Numbers were made to rue the ſad Effects of that Feſtival.

He was ſeen every now and then either driving Chariots or dancing: For he had not Shame enough to hide his Indecencies; but came out among the People with his Eye-lids and Cheeks painted red, degrading the genuine Beauty of his Face with the unnatural Stains of fictitious Colours.

Which *Mæſa* ſeeing, and ſuſpecting the Soldiers would be diſpleaſed at this odd Life of an Emperor, and afraid, that if any thing ſhould befal him, ſhe ſhould again be reduced to a private State, ſhe perſuades the ſilly unthinking Boy to adopt his Couſin, her other Grandſon by her Daughter *Mammæa*, and declare him *Cæſar*. This ſhe effected, by ſoothing his Vanity, and telling him, that he ſhould devote himſelf chiefly to the Service and Worſhip of his God; and mind his religious Ceremonies, and the Diſcharge of his holy Office; but that it was proper ſome other ſhould be employed in the Adminiſtration of human Affairs; who might take the Burden off his Shoulders, and make his Government free and eaſy: But that no Stranger or Foreigner could be judged ſo fit for this as his own Couſin. She therefore made a paronymic Alteration of his Name, from *Alexian*, the Name of his Grandfire, to *Alexander*, A.D. 222. *Alexian* takes the Name of *Alexander*.

that of the royal *Macedon*; being a Name not only renown'd and glorious in itſelf, but which had been held in Honour by the reputed Father of both the Lads. For both *Mæſa's* Daughters and the old Woman herſelf boaſted of the Inceſt committed with *Antoninus*, Son of *Severus*; that the Boys might be the better loved by the Soldiery, who ſuppoſed they were both his natural Offſpring.

Alexander declared *Cæſar*, and made Conſul.

Alexander therefore was declared *Cæſar*, and made Conſul with *Antonine*; who ratified both Honours in the Senate; every Member of the Houſe ridiculouſly enough voting what he was ordered, namely, that *Antonine* ſhould be accounted the Father, who was about ſixteen Years of Age, and *Alexander* the Son, who then was almoſt twelve.

His good Education.

As ſoon as *Alexander* was made *Cæſar*, *Antonine* endeavoured to inſtruct him in his own Way of Life, to dance, lead Choruſes, and be Partner in his Prieſt-Office, with all its Habits and Ceremonies. But *Mammæa*, his Mother, took care to keep her Son from thoſe low unkingly Exerciſes, ſecretly procuring him Maſters of all kinds of Learning, and inſtilling into his young Breaſt ſober and virtuous Principles. She prevail'd upon him to continue the Uſe of the *Palæſtra*, and all the manly *Gymnaſtic* Exerciſes; and to enrich his Mind with the noble and uſeful Erudition of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. At which Proceeding *Antonine* was ſorely diſguſted; and often repented that he had made him his Son, and his Aſſiſtant in the Empire. He expell'd his Tutors from the Court[e]; and ſome of the moſt famous he put

[e] Among whom was *Ulpian* the famous Lawyer,

to

to Death; others he drove into Exile; alledging Cauſes merry enough, that they corrupted the Morals of his adopted Son; and inſtead of letting him dance in Chorus, and intoxicate himſelf with religious Ceremonies, they inſtructed him in ſober Learning and the Offices which became a Man.

To ſuch a length of Madneſs did he run, that wantoning with Power, he advanced common Buffoons and Stage-Players into the greateſt Offices of State. For he made Prefect of the Camp one that had been a Dancer from his Infancy, and had formerly performed in the public *Roman* Theatre. Another he took from a Stage-Education, and ſet him over the Youth to teach them good Breeding, and to bring up fit and able Perſons to be choſen Members of the Senate, or received into the Equeſtrian Order. Coach-Drivers, Comedians, and Pantomimes, were taken into the moſt important Poſts of the Empire; and his Servants or Freed-Men, as every one moſt excell'd in Infamy or Debauchery, were made Proconſuls, and intruſted with the Government of whole Nations and Provinces. Stage-Players, &c. made Officers of State.

But that theſe great Offices, formerly accounted ſo venerable, ſhould now become the unreaſonable Gifts of Enthuſiaſm, beſtowed on Infamy and Drunkenneſs, was matter of great Uneaſineſs and Vexation to all Men, but chiefly to the *Roman* Soldiers; who now nauſeated and deſpiſed him, when he appeared with his Face trim'd and beautified with greater Niceneſs, than even became a ſober Woman; and dancing in the public View, deck'd with Neck-laces of Gold, and neatly dreſs'd in a ſoft effe- A.D. 223. The Soldiers deſpiſe *Antonine* and favour *Alexander*.

feminate Habit, to the Shame and Reproach of his very Sex. Wherefore they began to transfer all their Eſteem and Affection to *Alexander*; of whom they conceived better Hopes, as of a Youth modeſtly and virtuouſly educated. They took particular Care to guard his Perſon; as they perceived *Antonine* was plotting his Ruin. Nor would his Mother *Mammæa* ſuffer him to taſte either Drink or Meat that was ſent him by the other: And the Youth had all his Cooks and Butlers, not the common Servants of the Court, but picked out and recommended by his Mother, as Perſons of Faith and Integrity. She likewiſe ſupplied him ſecretly with Moneys to diſtribute clandeſtinely among the Soldiers; that ſhe might confirm their Good-will towards *Alexander* by pecuniary Intereſt, the ſtrongeſt Tie to hold the Soldiery.

Antonine degrades *Alexander*, and endeavours to diſpatch him.

Antonine being inform'd of this, left no Means unattempted to bring about the Deſtruction of *Alexander* and his Mother. All which Plots were averted and rendered abortive by *Mæſa* their common Grandmother, a Woman naturally of a ſharp penetrating Wit, and one that had, beſides, lived many Years at Court with her Siſter *Julia*, Wife to *Severus*; and therefore being no Stranger to the Intrigues of that Place, ſhe eaſily diſcovered *Antonine's* Deſigns; who was a Perſon of a very ſhallow Capacity, and always talked and acted what his Fancy ſuggeſted, without Fear or Foreſight. As he found therefore his ſecret Attempts unſucceſsful, he reſolved to degrade the Boy of the honourable Title of *Cæſar*. Accordingly, *Alexander* was deprived of *Cæſarean* Homage in Addreſſes, and at his public Appearances. But the Soldiers

fought

ſought after him, and reſented it bitterly, that his Power was infringed. *Antonine* likewiſe whiſper'd about, that *Alexander* was at the point of Death, on purpoſe to try how the Soldiers would take the Report. But they, exaſperated at not ſeeing the Youth, and ſtung with Indignation at the Report, refuſed to ſend *Antonine* his cuſtomary Guard; and, having ſhut themſelves in the Camp, demanded to ſee *Alexander* in the Chapel. *Antonine*, being terribly alarmed, was obliged to take *Alexander* with him in a royal Sedan ſtudded with precious Stones ſet in large Plates of Gold, and carry him to the Camp. When they arrived, the Soldiers opened the Gates, and conducted them into the Chapel of the Camp; where they ſaluted *Alexander* with the moſt honourable Titles, ſhouting with loud and joyous Acclamations; but paid little or no Regard to *Antonine*. He, taking their Diſreſpect as a great Affront, continued all Night in the Chapel, enraged againſt the Soldiers; and having marked down ſuch as appeared moſt forward in their Declarations of extraordinary Affection for *Alexander*, he gave Orders for apprehending and bringing them to Puniſhment, as Ringleaders of Mutiny. Which the Army reſenting, as they otherwiſe had long hated *Antonine*, and deſired to rid themſelves of an Emperor they were aſhamed of, they laid hold of this as an opportune Juncture and fair Excuſe, to ſuccour and vindicate their Fellow-Soldiers; and accordingly diſpatch'd him and his Mother *Soæmis* (who was preſent with him as being Empreſs-Mother) and as many of his Attendants, who were in the Camp, as they thought were Miniſters and Coadjutors to him in Wickedneſs.

The Soldiers kill *Antonine* and his Mother.

edness. The dead Bodies of *Antonine* and *Soæmis* were given to the Populace, to drag about and treat with all the Ignominy they thought proper; and after they had been mangled and abused with all kinds of Indignities, they were committed to the Common Sewers, which run into the River *Tiber*. Thus was *Antonine* slain with his Mother, after he had arrived to the sixth Year of his Reign, and lived in the manner already described. The Soldiers declared *Alexander* Emperor, and conducted him into the Palace, very young, and as yet, like a School-Boy, under the Tuition of his Mother and Grandame.

[f] Historians and Chronologists differ much about the Length of *Antonine's* Reign. *Herodian* says here, he was advanced to the sixth Year of his Reign. *Dio*, and from him *Zonaras*, make him reign three Years, nine Months, and four Days; *Lampridius* three Years; *Eutropius* two Years, eight Months. Some give him two Years; others three; but none, except our Author, exceed four Years. It is almost impossible that either *Dio* or *Herodian* could be ignorant, how long an Emperor reigned, of whose Life and Death they both were living Witnesses. The Error must therefore be imputed to the Corruption of one of their Copies. But *Dio's* Account will appear genuine, to any one that compares the Facts related by the several Writers. The Number then, as it now stands, in *Herodian* must be spurious. I make no doubt but the Author himself wrote it, *The fourth Year*; which agrees pretty well with *Dio*. For as *Antonine* reign'd above three Years and nine Months, it might well enough be said, by one that chose to express it in whole Numbers, without being so minute as to subtract the deficient odd Time, that *he advanced to the fourth Year*. Every one, who is the least conversant in old Manuscripts, knows how easy an Error it was for the Transcribers to mistake εκτον, or ϛτον, for δτον, the sixth for the fourth. What more confirms me in this Conjecture is, that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch has in his *Chronicon* (probably from *Herodian*) Ἀντονῖνος ὁ Γάβαλος ἔτη δ. Antonine Gabalus *four Years*.

HERO-

HERODIAN.

BOOK VI.

IN what manner *Antonine* loſt his Life has been related above. *Alexander* was now inveſted with the Supreme Power, or rather the Form and Name of it; for the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and the Reins of Empire, were intruſted to the Hands of the Women; who endeavoured to reſtore Things to the Regularity of a ſober and well-conducted Government. The firſt thing they did was to chuſe out ſixteen of the moſt grave and honeſt Senators, to be Aſſiſtants and Counſellors to the young Prince: And nothing of Importance was ſaid or acted without being confirmed by their Approbation. This Conſtitution of Government, ſo happily changed from the moſt injurious Tyranny, to the Form of an Ariſtocracy, was highly pleaſing to the People, Soldiers, and Senate. Firſt then the Images of the Gods, which *Antonine* had diſplaced and removed, were ſent again to their ancient proper Temples and Chapels. And after this, they who had been advanced by him to Poſts of Honour and Power, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they excell'd in Vice, were ſtript of the new Authority given them, A.D. 223.

them; and ordered to return to their former Profeſſions, as better adapted to their Abilities and Merits: And all Offices and Adminiſtrations were filled, the Political and Judicial with Perſons of Erudition and Knowledge in the Law; and the Military with Officers, whoſe Valour, Conduct, and Skill in Affairs of War, had been tried, and found to be unexceptionable.

A.D. 228. *Mæſa* dies.

When Matters had been carried on a conſiderable time in this good Order, *Mæſa*, who was now of a great Age, died; and had her Obſequies celebrated with all Imperial Honours; and was, according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*, number'd among the Gods.

Alexander's good Character.

Mammæa, perceiving herſelf now left alone with her Son, endeavoured to govern and rule him in the ſame manner; and as ſhe ſaw him veſted with Supreme Authority, when he was but a Boy, fearing leſt the natural Warmth of Youth, prompted by Impunity and Arbitrary Power, might hurry him into ſome of the Vices of his Family, ſhe kept a ſtrict Watch about the whole Palace, nor ſuffered any Perſons of bad Character to come into his Preſence; leſt ſome ſervile Pimp or pernicious Flatterer might poiſon the Morals of the Youth, and incite his Paſſions, now in their prime Vigour, to purſue the Pleaſures of Luſt and Lewdneſs. The better to prevent this, ſhe perſuaded him to ſpend the greateſt part of the Day in hearing and deciding Cauſes; that being taken up in the good and neceſſary Employments of a Sovereign, he might have the leſs Time to hearken to the Temptations of Sin. The Youth was naturally of a meek gentle Temper, always inclined to Goodneſs and Humanity; as the whole Courſe

of his Reign ſufficiently ſhewed. For he held the Imperial Sovereignty fourteen Years without Blood; nor can the Murther of one Perſon in all that Time be laid to his Charge. On the contrary, ſo merciful was his Nature, that he ſpared ſeveral clearly convicted of capital Offences; a Clemency very rare, and not eaſily found practiſed and perſiſted in by any of the Emperors of our Times ſince the Reign of *Marcus*. But no one can juſtly ſay, there is one Inſtance of *Alexander's* putting to Death any Perſon uncondemned, during the ſpace of ſo many Years. He even reproved his Mother, and that with much Sharpneſs, not to ſay Indignation, becauſe ſhe appeared too propenſe to Avarice, and carried her Love of Money beyond the Bounds of Reaſon. For while ſhe pretended her Deſign was only to raiſe Money, that *Alexander* might have wherewithal to diſtribute eaſily and liberally among his Soldiers; under that Pretext ſhe gathered a private Hoard. This caſt a Stigma on his Government: For though he was ſo far from encouraging, that he was vex'd at her iniquitous Practices; yet there are certain Inſtances, where ſhe defrauded ſeveral Perſons of their private Fortunes and Patrimonies.

She alſo choſe him a young Lady of Patri- A.D.230.
cian Family for his Wife; whom, though cohabiting with, and well beloved by her Huſband, ſhe ſoon after expell'd the Court. For being exceeding haughty, ſhe could not endure that any Woman beſides herſelf ſhould be called Empreſs. And ſo far did her proud imperious Spirit carry her, that the young Lady's Father, though much reſpected and honoured by

Alex-

Alexander, his Son-in-law, not able to bear the contumelious Treatment of *Mammæa* towards himſelf and his Daughter, fled into the Camp; ſaying, he returned *Alexander* Thanks for the Honour he had done him; but at the ſame time complaining of the injurious Behaviour of *Mammæa*; which ſhe reſenting, ordered him to be put to Death; and ſent his Daughter, whom ſhe had expell'd the Court, an Exile into *Libya*. But all this was done without *Alexander's* Conſent; who was rather compelled to ſuffer it: For his Mother held him in ſuch unreaſonable Subjection, that he did whatever ſhe was pleaſed to command. And in this one Particular, *Alexander's* Character may be expoſed to Cenſure; that being of too tame and eaſy a Diſpoſition, and ſtanding more in awe of his Mother than the Duty of a Son requires, his Obedience was too general; and he was ſometimes prevailed upon to do what was contrary to the Sentiments of his own Mind.

A.D.235. Alarms from *Syria*.

When he had reigned in this manner thirteen Years without the leaſt Blame[g], as to his own Actions; in the fourteenth Year ſudden

[g] *Dio*, *Zonaras*, and other Writers, agree with our Author, in extolling the good Government of *Alexander*; which was moderate, but not remiſs. *Lampridius* aſſures us, this Emperor would ſuffer no Office, either Civil or Military, to be diſpoſed of on lucrative Conſiderations; it being his uſual Saying, *That he would countenance no Traffickers for Power; ſince if he permitted them to purchaſe, he could not condemn them for making the moſt of their Market; for that he ſhould be aſhamed to puniſh that Man for ſelling, who himſelf had bought.* The ſame Hiſtorian tells us, he puniſh'd Thieves with much Severity, eſpecially Great Thieves in Office, ſuch as corrupt Judges, Commiſſioners, *&c.* But there was another pernicious ſort of Court-Theft, very flagrant under the former Reign, but ſo rigorouſly profe-

Expreſſes arrived with Diſpatches from the Governors of *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*: The Contents of which were; "That *Artaxerxes*, King

cuted by *Alexander*, that he at laſt effectually ſupreſſed it. Of this the ſame Author gives us one notable Inſtance.

It was common for the Courtiers at *Rome* to boaſt of their extraordinary Intereſt with the Emperor; that they had him ſo much in their Power, that he could refuſe nothing they ſhould aſk. By theſe ſpecious Baits they defrauded their Fellow-Subjects of great Sums of Money, and other Preſents, under pretence of uſing their Intereſt for the Mitigation of condemnatory Sentences, or Preferment to Poſts of Profit: But after the receipt of the Perquiſites, ſeldom concern'd themſelves about fulfilling their Promiſes. This kind of Gentry the *Romans* call'd *Fumi venditores, Smoke-ſellers*; becauſe their Promiſes were as light, and as pernicious, as that troubleſom Vapour. *Alexander*, being willing to detect one of theſe honourable Thieves, and make him an Example to the reſt, ordered a certain Perſon to apply to *Turinus* (that was the Smoke-ſeller's Name) for the Grant of a Place then vacant. The Man goes, and earneſtly ſollicits his Intereſt in conſideration of a very valuable Preſent. *Turinus*, after much Complaiſance, bids him give himſelf no farther Concern; for that his Buſineſs ſhould be certainly done. Soon after, he ſends him word, that he had aſked the Emperor, and had obtained his Promiſe; when, in reality, he had never ſpoken a Word about it. The Petitioner comes to Court; and, by the Emperor's Order, makes another Application to *Turinus*; who ſteps into the Preſence-chamber, as if he was going to put the Emperor in mind of his Promiſe. While he was there, *Alexander* declares to thoſe preſent, that it was his Pleaſure to give ſuch a Place to the Petitioner on Account of his faithful Services: Upon which, *Turinus* immediately runs to the Door; and, by a Smile and a Nod, intimates to the Man that he had finiſh'd the Affair. For which piece of Service he afterwards demands and receives the promiſed Conſideration. His pretended good Offices being thus amply rewarded, the Emperor orders him to be apprehended, and indicted of *Capnopoly*: And ſufficient Evidences having made their Depoſitions in his Trial, he was caſt, condemned, and executed in the following manner.

He

" of the *Perſians*, after totally overthrowing the " *Parthians*, ſubverting their Power in the Eaſt, " and ſlaying their Monarch *Artabanus* (who " was before call'd the Great King, and wore " two Diadems) had ſubjugated all the neigh- " bouring Barbarians, and loaded them with " heavy Tributes. That, not content with " this, nor containing himſelf within the *Tigris*, " but having paſſed the Banks of the River, " and the Frontiers of the *Roman* Territories, " he was overrunning *Meſopotamia*, and threat- " ening the *Syrians*; claiming all that Part of " the Continent oppoſite to *Europe*, call'd *Aſia*, " and bounded by the *Ægean* Sea and the " Straits of the *Propontis*, as the Poſſeſſion of " his Anceſtors, with Intent to annex it to the " *Perſian* Monarchy; pretending, that from *Cy-* " *rus*, who firſt tranſlated the Kingdom from " the *Medes* to the *Perſians*, quite down to *Da-* " *rius*, the laſt King of the *Perſians* (who was " overthrown by *Alexander* the *Macedon*) all the " Countries as far as *Ionia* and *Caria* were go- " verned by *Perſian* Vice-Roys; and that there- " fore it became him to ſuffer no Mutilations " in his Realm, but recover to the *Perſians* " their ancient Power, free and undiminiſh- " ed."

He was faſtened to a Stake, and a ſmothering Fire made about him with Straw, green Wood, *&c.* which perpetually ſent up Clouds of Smoke, till he was ſuffocated; a Crier all the time of the Execution bawling out aloud; *He that ſold Smoke, is puniſh'd with Smoke.* But *Lampridius* adds; " This was no Inſtance of Cruelty in the Emperor; " for *Turinus* had uſed ſuch iniquitous Practices a long " time, and was known to be a moſt infamous Smoke- " ſeller."

As

"As *Alexander* had been brought up from his Childhood in a long uninterrupted Peace, and the Eaſe and Pleaſures of a City-Life; he was ſtruck with no little Surprize at theſe ſudden unexpected Advices ſent from the Governors of the Eaſtern Provinces. At firſt, a Council of his Friends being called, it was thought proper to ſend an Ambaſſy with Letters of Remonſtrance, in order to ſtop the Progreſs of the Barbarian, and check his Preſumption. Letters therefore were diſpatch'd, intimating; "That it was "juſt for him to remain in his own Territories, "without raiſing any new Diſturbances; nor, "being elevated with vain Hopes, to excite a "difficult and dangerous War. That it was the "Duty of every Man, to be contented with his "own. That he would find it a very different "matter to contend againſt the *Romans*, from "what it was to fight with his Neighbours and "Barbarians of his own kind. And that he would "do well to recollect the Times of *Auguſtus*, "*Trajan*, *Lucius*, and *Severus*;" whoſe ſeveral Victories gained over the Barbarians, and the Trophies raiſed thereupon, the Letters particularly mentioned. And *Alexander* thought by theſe means, either to perſuade or frighten the Barbarian into Peace. *Alexander* writes to the *Perſian*.

However, the *Perſian* nothing regarded theſe Menaces, but perſiſted in his Purpoſe, driving and carrying off every thing that belonged to the *Romans*, as judging the Deciſion of Affairs depended on Actions, not on Words. He ran and rode through all *Meſopotamia*, laying waſte and plundering as he went; and beſieged the *Romans*, who were encamp'd on the Banks of the River to defend the Boundaries of the Em- History of the *Parthians*.

pire. For being naturally vain-glorious, and lifted up with the late Succeſſes he had obtain'd beyond his moſt ſanguine Expectations, he imagined he ſhould eaſily carry all before him. And indeed he had no ſmall Encouragements to incite him to aim at the Enlargement of his Dominions; inaſmuch as he was the firſt that durſt attack the *Parthian* Power, and recover that Kingdom to the *Perſians*. For ſince the Reign of *Darius*, whom *Alexander* dethroned, for many Years the *Macedonians* and Succeſſors of *Alexander*, having divided the Government of the Eaſtern Nations and all *Aſia*, reigned over ſeparate Countries: But when they quarrell'd among themſelves, and debilitated the *Macedonian* Power by perpetual Wars, *Arſaces* the *Parthian*, as is reported, firſt perſuaded the Barbarians beyond the Rivers to revolt from the *Macedonian* Yoke; and having obtained the Diadem by their unanimous Conſent, he reign'd over the *Parthians* and all the adjacent Countries; and the Kingdom, after his Deceaſe, devolved to his Poſterity, for the moſt part by lineal Deſcent, quite down to *Artabanus* of our Times; whom *Artaxerxes* ſlew, and reſtored again the Power to the *Perſians*; and, after ſubduing the neighbouring Barbarian Nations, with Eaſe made an Invaſion upon the Empire of the *Romans*.

Preparations made againſt the *Perſians*.

Alexander therefore being informed, while he was at *Rome*, of the Barbarian's audacious Actions in the Eaſt, thinking this an Inſolence not to be tamely born; and the Governors of the Provinces requiring his Preſence; though much againſt his Inclination, he prepares for an Expedition; and levies Forces in *Italy* and all the Provinces of the Empire, enliſting all, who in Strength

Strength of Body, or Vigour of Age, ſeemed capable of bearing Arms. Great Commotion was kindled throughout all the *Roman* Empire, while they were collecting an Army ſufficient to withſtand the Multitude of Barbarians, that, as they were informed, was making various Incurſions into the *Roman* Provinces. *Alexander*, having ſummoned together the *Roman* Soldiers, and ordered them to meet in the accuſtomed Plain, as ſoon as they were aſſembled, mounts the Roſtrum, and makes an Oration to the following Effect.

Alexander's Speech to the Soldiers.

" I could rather chuſe, my Fellow-Soldiers, " to deliver myſelf to you, after my wonted " manner, in thoſe agreeable Sounds, which at " the ſame time grace the Orator and delight " the Audience. For whereas you have been " bleſs'd ſo many Years with Peace, ſhould you " now hear ſomething of another Nature, you " may perhaps be ſhock'd at it, as being con" trary to your Expectations. But it is the " Part of brave and prudent Men, to wiſh in" deed for the beſt, but to endure with Patience " whatever ſhall happen. For the Enjoyment " of a pleaſurable Life is, I confeſs, very ſweet: " But the bringing bad Things to their neceſ" ſary Correction, is at once a manly and a " glorious Taſk. To be the firſt Aggreſſors in " unjuſt Actions, carries with it a raſh and un" reaſonable Provocation: But when we only " rid ourſelves of bold Diſturbers, we have the " Encouragement of a good Conſcience, and " may with greater Reaſon hope for Succeſs, " where we are not Actors, but Reſiſters of " Evil. *Artaxerxes*, a *Perſian* Man, has killed " his Maſter *Artabanus*, wreſted his Govern-

" ment, and transfer'd it to the *Perſians*: And,
" what is ſtill more inſolent, has defied the
" Force of your Arms, and, deſpiſing the Glo-
" ry of the *Romans*, attempted to over-run and
" waſte the rightful Poſſeſſions of your Empire.
" At firſt, I endeavour'd, by Letters and Ad-
" monitions, to perſuade this Man to curb his
" inſatiate Madneſs and Luſting after the Pro-
" perties of others. But the puff'd-up boaſting
" Barbarian will not contain himſelf within
" his own Confines; but challenges us to Bat-
" tle. Let us not therefore heſitate or delay;
" but let the elder among you remind them-
" ſelves of thoſe Trophies, which, with *Severus*,
" and *Antoninus* my Father, you have ſo often
" raiſed againſt the Barbarians: And let ſuch
" as are in the Flower of their Age, be laudably
" covetous of Fame and Glory; and ſhew the
" World, that you know both to cultivate Peace
" with Meekneſs and Reverence, and to chaſtiſe
" Offenders, when Need requires, with brave
" Reſentment in the Field of Battle. I need not
" tell you, 'tis the Nature of the Barbarians, to
" exert their Courage againſt the Timid and
" Tardy; but to flag and be ſoon diſpirited,
" wherever they meet with a vigorous Reſiſt-
" ance. They have no Hopes of Victory in a
" cloſe Conflict, or equal Oppoſition; but liv-
" ing by frequent Incurſions, and as frequent
" Flights, their Gain conſiſts in Rapine and
" Robbery: On the contrary, we preſerve good
" Diſcipline and Order; and have learned to
" conquer them, by having been always their
" Victors."

As ſoon as *Alexander* had ended, the whole Army ſeconded his Oration with a loud united Shout;

Shout; and expreſſed their Readineſs to undertake the War. After diſtributing large Sums of Money amongſt them, he gave Orders to get every thing ready for a ſpeedy March. In the mean while he goes to the Senate-Houſe; where having made a Speech much to the ſame purport as the former, he fixes the Time for his Departure.

The appointed Day being come, he firſt attends the uſual Divine Service for Succeſs to his Expedition; and then, attended by all the Senate and People, who took their Leaves in the moſt pathetic manner, he ſets out from *Rome*; ſtill turning back his Eyes on the City, and weeping. Nor were there any of the Populace who ſaw him depart without Tears[h]: For he

He ſets out from *Rome* on an Expedition againſt *Artaxerxes*.

[h] *Lampridius* aſſigns ſeveral Reaſons, why *Alexander* was ſo much beloved by all Orders and Degrees of his Subjects. The principal of which are; That he was not only a Prince of an excellent Diſpoſition himſelf, but was ſo happy as to have good Counſellors and Miniſters. That he never oppreſs'd his People with unneceſſary Taxes; but, on the contrary, reſtored, out of his own Revenue, the public Allowance of Corn and Oil to the People, which his Predeceſſor *Heliogabalus* had greatly diminiſhed. That he perſecuted no Sect of Religion, but gave free Toleration to *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; the latter of which he ſo favour'd, that, when there was a warm Controverſy between them and the Victuallers concerning a Place the *Chriſtians* had ſeized to perform Divine Worſhip in, which the Victuallers claim'd as their Right, the Diſpute being refer'd to the Emperor, he determin'd in favour of the *Chriſtians*; ſaying, It was better God ſhould be worſhipped, be it in what Form it will, than that the Place ſhould fall to the Victuallers. That as to his own Religion, it was a Mixture of *Paganiſm*, *Judaiſm*, and *Chriſtianity*; by which he made himſelf agreeable to the moderate Profeſſors of all the three. For he kept in his private Chapel, for his own Devotion, the Images of the Deified Princes; but only thoſe of the beſt Character for Virtue. Among theſe were alſo the Images of *Apollonius*,

was much beloved by the whole People; as having been brought up among them, and reigned ſo many Years with Clemency and Moderation. He purſued his March with great Expedition, and in a ſhort time arrived at *Illyrium*; where, going through the Countries, and reviewing the Soldiers of the ſeveral Camps, he gathers conſiderable Reinforcements; and then puts the Army under march for *Antioch*. Here he ſtaid ſome time, collecting all the neceſſary Proviſions for War; and exerciſing his Soldiers, and improving them in Military Diſcipline.

Ambaſſies to and from the *Perſian*.

Before he proceeded, it was thought proper to ſend another Ambaſſy to the *Perſian* with Terms of Peace. For being ſo near, he thought he could either perſuade or frighten the Enemy into an Accommodation. But the Barbarian ſent back the Ambaſſadors unſucceſsful in their Negotiations; and himſelf choſe out four hundred *Perſians* of the largeſt Size, richly dreſs'd, and deck'd with Ornaments of Gold, mounted on generous Steeds, and furniſhed with Bows and Arrows of uncommon Magnitude and Beauty, and ſent them as Ambaſſadors to *Alexander*; thinking the Aſpect and oſtentatious Habit of the *Perſians* would ſtrike Terror into the *Roman* Army. The Contents of this Ambaſſy were; "That *Artaxerxes*, the Great King, "commanded the *Romans* and their Prince to "depart out of all *Syria*, and *Aſia* oppoſite to "*Europe*; and let the *Perſian* Dominion extend

nius, *Chriſt*, *Abraham*, and *Orpheus*.—*Apollonius* was a *Pythagorean* Philoſopher in the Time of *Domitian*, famous for working Miracles.

" as far as *Ionia* and *Caria*, and all the Countries " bounded by the *Ægean* and *Pontic* Seas; for " that these were the hereditary Possessions of " the *Persians*."

The four hundred Ambassadors having delivered their Mandates, *Alexander* orders them all to be apprehended; and, after stripping them of their glittering Ornaments, sends them into *Phrygia*; where he allotted them Villages to dwell in, and Ground to manure; judging it a sufficient Punishment, to hinder their Return into their own Country: For to put them to Death, he thought, would be impious and unmanly; as they were not taken in the Field of Battle, but only executed the Commands of their Master by whom they were accredited. The *Persian* Ambassadors seized and detained.

While Matters were thus transacting, and *Alexander* was preparing to pass the Rivers and penetrate into the Enemy's Country; some of the Forces which came from *Egypt* deserted; and several other Seditions were raised in *Syria* against the Empire: But the Rebels were soon taken, and brought to Punishment. After which, *Alexander* sent several of the Camps in these Parts into the other Countries, the better to hinder the Incursions of the Barbarians. Seditions in *Syria*.

These Dispositions being made; and a powerful Army collected, judg'd sufficient to match the Multitude of the Barbarians; a Council of War was held; the Result of which was, to divide the Army into three separate Bodies: One of which he ordered to march to the North, thro' *Armenia* (which at that Time was held well-affected to the *Romans*) and penetrate into the Country of the *Medes*. The second was likewise sent Northward towards the Barbarian's The *Persian* Army divided into three Bodies.

Territories; where, they ſay, the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* join, and their confluent Streams are received into a great number of Lakes and Marſhes: Which is the Cauſe why theſe Rivers onely have no viſible Place where they diſembogue. The third and braveſt Part he promiſed to lead himſelf, taking the middle Route, againſt the Barbarians. His Intent in thus dividing the Army was, that, by different Routes, he might ſurprize the Enemy unprovided; and that the Multitude of the *Perſians*, being ſeparated into ſeveral Parties, in order to oppoſe the frequent Incurſions of the *Romans*, ſhould be weakened by theſe Diverſions, and take the Field with leſs Order. For the Barbarians have no Forces ſerving for Pay, as the *Romans*; nor do they keep conſtant Camps, or maintain a Standing Army exerciſed in the Arts of War; but the whole Multitude of their Men, and ſometimes their Women, aſſemble whenever the King commands; and as ſoon as the War is finiſhed, every one returns to his own Home, with all the Booty he could get, as a Reward for his Service. They uſe Bows, and Horſes, not only for War, as the *Romans* do; but they are brought up with them from their Infancy, and paſs their Life in Hunting; nor do they ever go on Foot, or without their Quivers; but are perpetually riding, and ſhooting, either againſt their Enemies, or at wild Beaſts.

Manner of raiſing Troops in *Perſia*.

But theſe Meaſures of *Alexander* were not ſo fortunate as they appeared prudent; for the Army that was ſent through *Armenia*, having, with much Labour and Difficulty, paſſed the craggy and ſteep Mountains in thoſe Parts (for as it was the height of Summer, the Seaſon ſomewhat

One Diviſion makes a Deſcent into *Media*.

ſomewhat facilitated their Paſſage) made a Deſcent upon the *Medes*; and, having waſted their Country, and burnt ſeveral Villages, carried off the Plunder. Which the *Perſian* being inform'd of, came with numerous Forces to their Aſſiſtance; but could not drive the *Romans* out of their Borders. For it, being a rough uneven Country, gives firm treading enough, and eaſy Marches for Infantry; but the Craggedneſs of the Mountains greatly retarded the Barbarian Horſe; and embaraſſed, and ſometimes quite hindered their Marches.

A *Roman* Army cut all to pieces.

At the ſame Time Advice was brought to the *Perſian* King, that another Army of the *Romans* had made a Diverſion into the Eaſtern Parts of *Parthia*; and were ſcouring the Plains. Fearing therefore that, the *Parthians* being eaſily overthrown, they might pour in their Forces upon the *Perſians*; he left what he thought a ſufficient Power for the Defence of *Media*, and haſtens, with all the reſt of his Army, to the Eaſtern Parts. The *Romans*, meeting with no Oppoſition, marched in a careleſs diſorderly manner, ſuppoſing, that *Alexander*, with the third Diviſion of the Forces, which was by far the greateſt and moſt powerful, had by this time penetrated into the midſt of the Enemy's Country; and that the Barbarians, being conſtantly diverted in order to obſtruct him, would render their March eaſy and unmoleſted. For it had been agreed, that all the three Armies ſhould break in upon the Enemy from different Parts; and a Place was appointed, where they were to meet, and bring in all the Plunder and Priſoners they took. But *Alexander* deceived them; for he neither led in his Army, nor entered

tered himſelf; whether it was through Fear and Unwillingneſs to hazard the Safety of his own Perſon, for the Defence of the *Roman* Empire; or whether his Mother hindered him, through a womaniſh Timorouſneſs, and overmuch Fondneſs for her Son, we cannot determine: But 'tis certain, ſhe always ſuppreſs'd and dull'd his manly Spirit; perſuading him, that others ought to be expoſed for him, but that himſelf ſhould always keep aloof from Danger. This was the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Army that had entered the Enemy's Country. For the *Perſian*, with all his Forces, came upon them unprepared, becauſe unexpecting. He had ſurrounded and hem'd them in as it were in a Net; and, pouring in Vollies of Arrows from every Side, deſtroyed a whole Army of the *Romans*; who, as they were but few in compariſon with the Enemy, could not withſtand ſuch prodigious Odds; and, being obliged to make uſe of their Arms to cover the naked parts of their Bodies expoſed to the Shafts, thought themſelves happy enough, if they could but act only on the defenſive, without annoying the Enemy. But when they had gathered into a cloſe Body, and, by the Projection of their Shields, had form'd a kind of Wall, from within which they fought as from a Town inveſted; tho' ſhot and wounded from every Part, yet they made a brave and obſtinate Reſiſtance, till, overpower'd by Numbers, they fell all to a Man. This great Calamity gave ſuch a Blow to the *Roman* Power, as can hardly be parallel'd in any of their former Misfortunes; cutting off at once a numerous Army, an Army that in Steadineſs, Strength, and Bravery, came nothing ſhort of the beſt among the

the Ancients; and ſwelling the *Perſian* with Hopes of greater Atchievements, through the good Fortune of ſo complete a Victory.

When the News was brought to *Alexander*, who lay dangerouſly ſick (whether by Trouble of Mind, or the Unwholeſomneſs of the Climate, to which he had not been accuſtomed, is uncertain) he bore it very hardly. And the reſt of the Troops conceived great Indignation againſt him; for that he had betrayed their Fellow-Soldiers by his Falſhood, in not performing his part of the Agreement. Being now unable to bear the Violence of his Diſtemper, heightened by the thick ſultry Air of the Place; and a Sickneſs raging among the whole Army, eſpecially thoſe who came from *Illyrium* (for theſe, having been uſed to a moiſt cold Air, and feeding a little too plentifully, according to their accuſtomed manner, ſuffered exceedingly from the Diſeaſe, and were carried off in great Numbers) he reſolved to return to *Antioch*. Accordingly, he ſends for the Army in *Media*; the greateſt part of which periſhed on the Mountains, as they came back: For the exceſſive Cold ſo benumb'd their Fingers and Toes, and other extreme Parts of their Bodies, that the Blood ſtagnated; and the Mortification ſpreading, they died ſo faſt, that very few returned alive of the whole Number. *Alexander*, with the Remainder of his Diviſion, arrived at *Antioch*, after loſing great Numbers by the Contagion beforementioned. This inglorious Expedition cauſed great Sorrow to the *Roman* Army; and reflected equal Diſhonour on *Alexander*; who was as deficient in his Purpoſes, as unſucceſsful in Fortune; and had deſtroyed the greateſt

Alexander returns with Diſgrace to *Antioch*.

greateſt part of this triple Army, by Sickneſs, War, and Cold, a Variety of Calamities.

He had not been long at *Antioch* before he recovered his Health, refreſh'd by the wholeſome Air and the Plenty of Water in that City, after the dry ſcorching Heats of *Meſopotamia*. He likewiſe endeavoured to regain the Soldiers Favour, and to comfort their Misfortune, by the Diſtribution of large Sums of Money: For this he thought a catholic Remedy for military Diſorders, and the beſt Reſtorative for their declining Affection. This done, he levied new Recruits, and was making Preparations to go againſt the *Perſians* once more, if they were not quiet with their Victory, but perſiſted to be further troubleſome. But while he was thus employ'd, Advice came, that the *Perſian* had broken his Troops, and ſent every Man to his own Habitation. For though the Barbarians ſeemed to have gotten the better, nevertheleſs, their Strength was conſiderably impaired by the frequent Skirmiſhes in *Media*; and even their Victory in *Parthia* coſt them dear, great Numbers of them being killed, and moſt of the reſt much wounded: For the *Romans* fell like Men, and involved many of their Enemies in their Calamity; and were only conquered as far as they were out-numbered, the Slain on either Side being pretty near equal, and the Barbarians ſuperior, not in Proweſs but Multitude. What ſufficiently proves this Loſs of the Barbarians is, that they remained very quiet, nor meddled again with Arms for three or four Years. Which *Alexander* hearing, he likewiſe kept himſelf at *Antioch*; and, being eaſed from the Cares of War, indulged himſelf with more

Freedom and Security in the Pleaſures and Diverſions of that City.

Alarms from *Illyrium*.

Tho' he thought not every thing entirely at Peace with regard to the *Perſians*, yet he knew it would take up a conſiderable Time for the Barbarian to collect his Forces together; who, when once diſperſed, are not very eaſily aſſembled again; foraſmuch as they are under no Diſcipline or Order, but are rather a promiſcuous Croud than an Army. Beſides, they have no more Proviſions than every one brings with him from Home for preſent Uſe; and 'tis not without much Reluctance and Tardineſs, that they are prevail'd on to leave their Children and Wives, and Places where they dwell. But, in the midſt of this Security, Couriers arrived from the Governors of *Illyrium* with Diſpatches which alarmed *Alexander* worſe than ever. For the Contents were, "That the *Germans* had "paſs'd the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; were waſting the *Roman* Territories, inveſting the "Camps on the Banks of the Rivers, and ranſacking, in large Bodies, the principal Towns "and Villages. That all that Part of *Illyrium* "on the Confines of *Italy* was in no ſmall Danger; and that therefore his Preſence, with "all the Force he had with him, was abſolutely neceſſary." The News greatly embaraſs'd *Alexander*, and gave the Soldiers who came from *Illyrium* much Uneaſineſs; who look'd upon themſelves as doubly diſtreſs'd, both from what they had ſuffered in the *Perſian* War, and the Calamities they heard were inflicted on their Families by the *Germans*. This rekindled their Indignation againſt *Alexander*; who had before, either through Negligence or Cowardice, betrayed

trayed and ruined Affairs in the East; and appeared now but timorous and slow to assist the Northern Nations.

A.D.236. *Alexander* marches againſt the *Germans.*

Both *Alexander* and his Friends with him were now greatly concerned, and even fear'd for *Italy* itſelf; as they judged the Danger threatened by the *Germans* very different from that of the *Perſians.* For theſe, living in the Eaſtern Regions, ſeparated from us by a vaſt Extent of Land and Sea, have hardly ſo much as heard of the *Italians:* On the contrary, the *Illyrian* Nations having very contracted Confines, and but little Land under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, render the Diſtance between the *Germans* and *Italians* but ſmall; ſince their interjacent Borders is all that ſeparates the other two Countries. Compell'd therefore by Neceſſity, tho' much againſt his Will, after great Reluctance, he gives Orders to prepare for an Expedition: And having left what was thought a ſufficient Force for Defence of the *Roman* Frontiers on the Banks of the Rivers; and fortified the Camps and Forts with additional Works, and fill'd them with their proper Complements, he departs with the reſt of the Army for *Germany*; and by forced Marches ſoon arrived on the Banks of the *Rhine*; where he encamped, and made the neceſſary Preparations for a *German* War.

Deſcription of the *Rhine* and *Danube.*

He firſt threw a Bridge of Boats over the River, in order to facilitate the Paſſage of his Forces: For the *Rhine* and the *Danube* are two exceeding large Rivers in the North; one of which waſhes the Coaſt of *Germany*, the other runs along by *Pannonia.* In the Summer they are both navigable, being of a very wide and deep

deep Channel: But in the Winter they are frozen so hard by the Cold, that they ride upon them as on a ſolid Plain; the Ice being ſo thick and ſtrong, that 'tis not only Proof againſt the trampling of the Horſes Hoofs, and the Feet of Men, but whenever the People want Water, they come not with Buckets, or other hollow Veſſels, to draw, but are furniſh'd with Axes and Mattocks, to cut off great Lumps of congeal'd Water; which they carry naked without any Veſſel, as they would a Stone. Such is the Nature of theſe Rivers.

Alexander having brought with him a large Body of *Moors*, and a great Number of Bow-Men from the Eaſt, ſome out of the Country of the *Oſroëni*, and ſome Deſerters or Mercenaries from the *Parthians*; with theſe Auxiliary Forces he advances againſt the *Germans*; to whom this ſort of Warriours is moſt formidable. For the *Moors* hurl'd Darts from a conſiderable Diſtance, and, being light-arm'd, attack'd and retreated with great Expedition: And the Archers ſeldom miſs'd, tho' a great way off, the naked Heads and huge Bodies of the tall luſty *Germans*, as Marks very eaſy to be hit. But ſometimes they came to cloſe Action; and then the *Germans* were often a Match for the *Romans*. While he was thus employed, he, nothwithſtanding, thought proper to ſend an Ambaſſy to the Enemy to treat of a Pacification, and offer them all their reaſonable Demands, and the additional Article of a prodigious Sum of of Money. For the avaricious *Germans*, very fond of lucrative Treaties, always huckſter a venal Peace with the *Romans:* Which made *Alexander* endeavour rather to traffick for a *Alexander's* Cowardice.

League

League with them, than run the Riſque of War. But the *Roman* Soldiers took all this very ill, that he ſhould loſe ſo much Time, without attempting any thing great or glorious by Arms; but rather amuſing himſelf in Chariot-Racing, and other idle Diverſions, at a Time when the Inſolence of the *Germans* called aloud for Chaſtiſement.

Maximine gains the Love of the Soldiery.

There was in the Army one *Maximine*; who came from a little Village in the inmoſt Part of *Thrace*, where the Natives are Mixt-Barbarians, and had, as was ſaid, been a Shepherd-Boy; but when he grew up was liſted in a Troop of Horſe, on account of his enormous Size and Strength: But afterwards, Fortune, leading him by the Hand, advanced him Step by Step thro' all the military Preferments, till ſhe had raiſed him to the Command of Armies, and Government of whole Nations. This *Maximine*, by reaſon of his great Experience in Military Affairs, *Alexander* had ſet over the Youth in the Army, to inſtruct them in their Exerciſes, and make them fit for all the Services of War. Which Office *Maximine* executed with great Diligence; and won the Love of the Soldiers, by not only teaching them their Duty, but going before them himſelf in every thing that was commanded: So that they were not ſo much his Pupils, as zealous Imitators of his manly Courage. To this he added other popular Motives to gain their Affections, ſuch as liberal Gifts, and Poſts of Honour. Hence it was, that the young Soldiers, among whom was a great multitude of *Pannonians*, were mightily delighted with *Maximine's* brave and gallant Spirit; and ſcoffed at *Alexander*, as one ruled by

by his Mother, and ſubmitting the Adminiſtration of Public Affairs to the Power and Caprice of a Woman; and betraying an indolent and unmanly Spirit with regard to War. They hinted one to another, what a Loſs had been ſuſtained in the Eaſt through his Tardineſs; and that, ſince he came againſt the *Germans*, he had not attempted one Action worthy a Man, or even a Youth.

Being therefore otherwiſe prone enough to Innovation; and thinking the Length of the preſent Reign added only to the Heavineſs of the Burthen, and afforded no great Hopes to their lucrative Views, as all Ambition was now exhauſted; and hoping moreover, that a new Prince, who ſhould come, beyond his Expectation, to the Supreme Power, would certainly be more grateful and liberal to his Benefactors; they reſolved to diſpatch *Alexander*; and declare *Maximine* Emperor and *Auguſtus*, as being their old Fellow-Soldier and Comrade; and one who, through his great Abilities, Aſſiduity, and Courage, appeared a proper Perſon to proſecute the War with Vigour. In purſuance of this Reſolution, when they were aſſembled in the Plain, arm'd only for a Review, and *Maximine* came, according to Cuſtom, to ſee them go through their Exerciſe (whether ignorant, or privy to their Deſigns, is hard to ſay) they gathered round him; and, clothing him in a purple Robe, ſaluted him Emperor. At firſt he refuſed the Offer, and threw off the Purple; but when they preſs'd upon him with their drawn Swords, and threaten'd to kill him; chuſing rather to incur the future Danger than the preſent, he accepted the Honour; which, as he ſaid, had

He is declared Emperor.

been often foretold to him, by Oracles and Dreams portending the high Fortune. He appeal'd to the Soldiers, that he had never ſought the Sovereignty; but had been prevail'd upon to receive it, tho' againſt his Will, by their preſſing Importunities: Wherefore he enjoined them to confirm by Actions, what they had given in Words; and, having taken up their Arms, to prevent even Fame itſelf, and advance upon *Alexander* before he had the leaſt Information; that, taking the Soldiers about him, and his Body-Guards, by Surprize, they might either perſuade them to conſent, or eaſily compel them, in caſe of Reſiſtance, as they had come upon them unawares, and therefore unprovided. When he had excited their Alacrity, and confirmed their Affection, by doubling their Allowance of Proviſions, promiſing them great Gifts and Donatives, remitting all their Puniſhments, and wiping off every Spot of Diſgrace, he put them under Motion, and led them to the Head-Quarters not far off; where was *Alexander's* Pavilion, and the Tents of all his Attendants.

Alexander deſerted by his Guards.

When the News was brought of *Maximine's* near Approach, *Alexander*, ſhock'd at the ſtrange unexpected Accident, ſprings out of his Royal Pavilion, weeping and trembling like an Enthuſiaſt. One while he exclaims at *Maximine's* Perfidy and Ingratitude, enumerating the many Favours he had conferr'd on him; now charges the young Men, his Fellow-Soldiers, with Temerity, Perjury, and Treaſon; and then offers to give them every thing they demanded, and to redreſs all their Grievances. The Soldiers, and Guards about him, all that Day ſhouted in his Favour;

Favour, and attended him, promiſing to hazard their Lives in his Protection: But when the Night was ſpent, and Meſſengers arrived about Break of Day, that *Maximine* was at hand; that Clouds of Duſt appear'd at a Diſtance; and that the Noiſe of no ſmall Multitude was heard; *Alexander* came forth again into the Plain; and, having called the Soldiers together, intreated them to aſſiſt him; to protect his Safety, who had been brought up amongſt them, and whoſe Government for fourteen Years had been unblameable. Thus endeavouring to move their Pity and Compaſſion, he bid them arm, and draw up in Order of Battle. The Soldiers at firſt, indeed, promiſed to ſtand by him; but ſoon after fell off by few and few; refuſing to take their Arms: And ſome of them demanded to have the Prefect of the Camp, and *Alexander's* chief Favourites and Miniſters, given up to condign Puniſhment; pretending that they had been the Cauſe of this Rebellion. Others ſaid, his Mother was principally culpable; for that, being a Woman of inſatiable Avarice, ſhe hoarded up Treaſure; and had render'd *Alexander* odious to the Army, by her clandeſtine Peculations, ſordid Parſimony, and Averſion to Donatives. In theſe various Clamours they ſpent ſome Time, without ſtirring from the Place. But when *Maximine's* Army came in Sight; and exhorted their Brother-Soldiers to quit the Service of a ſtingy mean-ſpirited Woman, and a puſillanimous Boy, a Slave to his Mother; and to embrace the Cauſe of a Man of Honour and Conduct, one that was their Fellow-Soldier, and whoſe Life had been ſpent in Arms and martial Employments; they preſently cloſed in with the Offer, and, deſerting

Alexander, went all over to *Maximine*, and unanimouſly ſaluted him Emperor.

Alexander's Death.

The poor trembling, fainting *Alexander*, with much Difficulty, returned to his Tent; and, hanging about his Mother, piteouſly lamenting (as they report) and upbraiding her as the Cauſe of this miſerable Calamity, waited for the Coming of his Murtherer. Nor was it long before *Maximine*, being now unanimouſly ſaluted *Auguſtus* by the whole Army, diſpatch'd a Tribune, with ſome Centurions, to murther *Alexander* and his Mother, and all about them that ſhould dare to offer the leaſt Oppoſition. The Officers arrived, broke into the Pavilion, and kill'd him and his Mother, with all whom they thought his Friends or Favourers; except ſome few, who found means to eſcape, or ſecrete themſelves; but ſoon after were all apprehended by *Maximine*, and put to Death.

Such was the End of *Alexander's* Life, and his Mother's, after he had reigned fourteen Years, without Blood, and without Complaint, as to his Civil Government. For he was utterly abhorrent of Murther, Cruelty, and all illegal Acts; and always inclined to Humanity, and doing kind Offices: So that his Reign had been unblemiſhed, were it not contaminated by the Avarice and ſordid Meanneſs of his Mother.

HERODIAN

BOOK VII.

THE Life of *Alexander* has been above deſcribed; and the Manner of his Death, after he had worn the Imperial Purple fourteen Years. A.D.236.

Maximine, having obtained the Supremacy, made a ſad Alteration in the Face of Affairs; executing the Power he had gotten with great Auſterity, and reducing the Empire, from a calm mild Conſtitution of Government, to a cruel and bloody Tyranny. For as he knew he was diſguſtful to the People, becauſe he had been the firſt advanced from the loweſt Condition to this high Fortune; and was by Nature, as well as Birth, a Barbarian, having that Ferocity and Thirſt of Blood ſo natural to his Race and Country; he reſolved to eſtabliſh his Power by Acts of Cruelty. This he thought incumbent on him; leſt the Senate, and all his Subjects, not looking to his preſent Grandeur, but reflecting on his obſcure Birth and mean Parentage, might hold him in Contempt. For it was now whiſper'd and rumour'd about among all, that he was formerly a Tender of Cattle on the Mountains of *Thrace*; and had

recommended himſelf, by his Bulk and Brawn, to be a common Soldier in his own Country; after which, Fortune, as it were, took him by the Hand, and lifted him by degrees into the Imperial Throne of the *Romans*. Wherefore, at his firſt Entrance upon the Sovereignty, he removed all the Friends of *Alexander*, and the Counſellors the Senate had choſen for him; ſome of whom he ſent back to *Rome*, and others he deprived of their Office; pretending the Regulation of Affairs required this Reform. But his true Motive for it was, he choſe to be alone in the Army, and, from a Conſciouſneſs of his mean Extraction, would have none about him who were ſuperior in Blood; that, mounted, as it were, upon a Pinnacle of Power, with no Perſon of Dignity to awe him, he might have Opportunity to practiſe all the barbarous Acts of Arbitrary Power. He likewiſe diſmiſs'd from Court all *Alexander's* menial Servants, whom he had employ'd for ſo many Years; but put the greateſt part of them to Death, as ſuſpected of Treaſon, becauſe he knew they ſecretly mourn'd the Loſs of their Maſter.

A Conſpiracy againſt *Maximine*.

But what more exaſperated his Fury, and ſtirred him up to unbounded Cruelty, was the Information he had received, of a Conſpiracy forming againſt him by ſeveral Centurions of the Army, in Conjunction with the whole Senate. There was one *Magnus*, a Man of Patrician and Conſular Rank; who was charged with plotting Treaſon againſt him, and ſolliciting ſome of the Soldiers to make a Revolution of the Empire in favour of himſelf; which was ſaid to be plan'd in the following Manner.

Maximine had thrown a Bridge over the River, with a Deſign to march his Forces upon the *Germans*. For as ſoon as he had gotten the Power into his Hands, he immediately ſet about the Operations of War: Becauſe, as he ſeem'd to be choſen to the Empire on account of his huge Size and Soldierly Strength, and his Experience in War, he was willing to confirm his Character, and the good Opinion the Soldiers had of his Abilities, by his Actions; and at the ſame time to ſhew, that *Alexander* had been juſtly rejected for his deſpicable Timidity, and Slowneſs in martial Enterprizes. From theſe Conſiderations, he never ceaſed diſciplining and exerciſing the Army; and being always in Arms himſelf, he ſtimulated the Soldiers by his own Vigour and Aſſiduity. The Bridge then being finiſhed, he made ready for paſſing over and attacking the *Germans*. But *Magnus* was accuſed with perſuading no ſmall Number of the Flower of the Army, and eſpecially thoſe who were poſted to guard the Bridge, that as ſoon as *Maximine* was on the other Side, they ſhould break the Bridge, and, by cutting off his Retreat, expoſe him to the Fury of the Barbarians. For the River was ſo deep and wide, that it was impoſſible he could croſs it after the Diſſolution of the Bridge, as there were no Veſſels or Tranſports on the oppoſite Coaſt. This was the Sum of *Magnus's* Charge; whether true, or forged by *Maximine*, we cannot ſay: For 'tis hard to decide, where there was no Conviction; but the Accuſed, with all beſides, who were but ſuſpected of being privy to the Plot, were immediately ſeized, and cruelly murthered, without Proof, Trial, or ſo much as a Hearing. Its Plan.

Macedon's Treachery towards *Quartinus.*

There was likewiſe another Sedition raiſed among the *Oſroënes:* Who, warmly reſenting the Death of *Alexander*, and accidentally meeting with one of his Friends, *Quartinus* by Name, a Man of Conſular Dignity, whom *Maximine* had diſmiſſed from the Army, laid hold on him unawares; and compell'd him, againſt his Will, to become their Leader; and, attending him with the Ceremony of the Fire, and other pompous but fatal Honours, inſiſted to make him Emperor; though nothing could be more againſt his Inclination. But he was treacherouſly murthered in the Night, as he was aſleep in his Tent, by one that was his Companion, and (as he thought) his Friend. This Man, whoſe Name was *Macedon*, had been formerly Commander in Chief of the *Oſroënes*; and was the Author of the preſent Defection and Conſpiracy againſt *Maximine*. Nor had he the leaſt Cauſe of Enmity or Hatred againſt a Perſon, whom he firſt perſuaded, or rather forced, into his Party, and afterwards barbarouſly murthered. For thinking he ſhould wonderfully oblige *Maximine*, he cut off his Head, and carried it to the Emperor: Who, though glad enough of the Accident, that had rid him of one he judged his Enemy, yet diſapproved the Baſeneſs of the Action; and while *Macedon* was hoping ſome extraordinary Reward, he order'd him to be ſeized and put to Death, as the Ringleader of the Rebellion, the Murtherer of a Man he had forced into his Meaſures, and the baſe Betrayer of profeſs'd Friendſhip.

Such Incentives as theſe more and more enflamed the barbarous Spirit of *Maximine*, naturally prone to Revenge and Cruelty. His Countenance

tenance was ſtern and formidable; and the Size of his Body was ſo vaſt, that he could hardly be match'd by any one of the moſt athletic *Greeks*, or the ſtouteſt and moſt pugnacious Barbarians.

Having ſettled the above-mention'd Diſturbances, he put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and marched fearleſs over the Bridge, in order to attack the *Germans*. He had a numerous Army, conſiſting of almoſt all the *Roman* Power, a great Number of *Moors* excellent at the Dart and Bow, beſides *Oſroënes* and *Armenians*, ſome of whom were his Subjects, others his Allies and Auxiliaries, and all the *Parthians* in the *Roman* Service, whether Mercenaries, Deſerters, or Captives. This promiſcuous Multitude had been firſt collected by *Alexander*, and augmented and diſciplined by *Maximine*. But the Dart-men and Archers ſeemed the beſt qualified to annoy the Enemy, as they attack'd with incredible Expedition, before the *Germans* were aware, and retreated again with equal Activity. *Maximine* advanced a great way into the Enemy's Country; and meeting no Oppoſition (for the Barbarians retired at his Approach) he laid Waſte all the Fields, eſpecially thoſe of Corn, which was then ripe; ſet fire to the Villages; and permitted his Soldiers to ranſack and plunder without Moleſtation. For the Cities and Habitations of the *Germans* are eaſily deſtroyed by Fire, as they have very few Stones or Bricks, but build chiefly with Timber, their Woods being exceedingly thick of Trees; which they fell; and, joining and faſtening them together, frame a kind of Tabernacles. In this hoſtile manner *Maximine* proceeded through great part of the Country,

Maximine penetrates into the Enemy's Country.

driving off the Cattle, and giving all the Herds they met to his Army. For the *Germans* retired from the champain Parts, and every Place that was naked of Trees, and hid themſelves in the Woods, and remained about the marſhy Grounds; that they might ſally upon the Enemy, or engage them in theſe unequal Places; where the thick Shrubs would be a good Covering from the Darts and Arrows, and the Depth of the Moraſſes muſt be very dangerous to the *Romans*, who were entirely Strangers to the Nature of the Places; but, on the contrary, themſelves could eaſily run through them, as they were well acquainted with the Country; knew what Parts were unpaſſable, what hard; and uſually ran through the Dirt and Water up to their Knees. Beſides, the *Germans* are very expert Swimmers; for they uſe no other Baths, but open Lakes and Rivers.

The memorable Battle in a Marſh.

This part of the Country, therefore, was the principal Scene of Action; and here the Emperor himſelf bravely began a Battle. For having attack'd the *Germans* near a vaſt and deep Moraſs, into which the Enemy retreating, the *Roman* Troops were afraid to purſue, *Maximine* himſelf firſt rode into a Lake, that took his Horſe up to the Belly; and made a great Slaughter among the Barbarians who reſiſted him; till the reſt of the Soldiers, animated by his Example, and fearing the Reproach of deſerting their Sovereign fighting in their Cauſe, plunged in to his Aſſiſtance. And now a general Batle enſued; where the Diſpute was ſharp and bloody. Great Numbers fell on the *Roman* Side; but the Barbarians loſt almoſt their whole Multitude, the *Roman* Prince eminently ſignalizing

nalizing his Valour, till the Ponds and Bogs were filled up with dead Carcaſes, and the Lake red with Blood; ſo that the Battle of Foot-Forces, fighting in a Moraſs, afforded a lively Repreſentation of a Sea-Engagement.

The Battle ended, *Maximine* not only diſpatch'd Letters [a] to the Senate and People, with a particular Detail of the Action, and Account of his own Proweſs; but had the whole Battle painted in large Figures, and hung up before the Senate-houſe; that the Citizens of *Rome* might entertain their Eyes, as well as Ears, with the Deſcription of what had been atchieved. But this Piece, with all the reſt of his Images and Statues, were afterwards pulled down by the Senate.

There were ſeveral Battles after this; in which he won great Honour, expoſing his own Perſon, and attacking the Enemy with Sword in Hand: A.D.237. *Maximine* winters at *Sirmium*.

[a] The Contents of one of theſe Letters are publiſhed in the Life of *Maximine* written by *Julius Capitolinus* (which Life is little elſe than an Abridgment of this part of *Herodian's* Hiſtory, in Low *Latin*.) The Copy was tranſcribed from *Cordus*; who affirms, it was dictated by *Maximine* himſelf. And, as the firſt-mention'd Author obſerves, there is no Reaſon to ſuſpect it ſpurious; ſince there is nothing in the Style of the Letter, but what *Maximine*, tho' a Semi-Barbarian, might be capable of writing. The *Latin* runs thus;

Non poſſumus tantum, P. C, loqui, quantum fecimus. Per 400 *millia* Germanorum *vicos incendimus, greges abduximus, captivos abſtraximus, armatos occidimus, in palude pugnavimus. Perveniſſemus ad ſylvas, niſi altitudo paludum nos non permiſiſſet.*

We cannot, Conſcript Fathers, ſay ſo much, as we have done. For the ſpace of 400 *Miles we have fired the Villages of the* Germans, *driven off their Cattle, carried away the Captives, killed the Warriors, and fought in a Moraſs. We would have penetrated into the Woods, but the Depth of the Marſhes would not let us paſs.*

But

But as the Seaſon of the Year was far advanced, he thought proper to lead the Army into Winter-Quarters; and, carrying off the Priſoners and Plunder, returned to *Pannonia*. He reſided all the Winter at *Sirmium*, a large City in thoſe Parts; where he made the neceſſary Preparations for the enſuing Campaign; threatening (and 'tis probable he might have perform'd it) to cut off and reduce all the *German* Nations as far as the Ocean.

His Glory in War ſullied by his great Cruelty.

Thus great was *Maximine* in Feats of Arms; and would have acquired immortal Praiſe, had not his Cruelty and Barbarity to his Subjects eclipſed his martial Glory. For what avail'd it to have cut off the Barbarians; when more Murthers were committed at *Rome*, and in the Provinces of the Empire? Where was the Advantage of taking Plunder and Captives from the Enemy; and then deſpoiling his Subjects of their lawful Properties? For, under him, free Toleration, or rather Encouragement, was given to Informers to do miſchief, and prefer Indictments againſt Perſons for Crimes, perhaps, of their Fore-fathers, never known or detected to that Day. Nor was any one brought to the Bar by an Informer, but he was immediately caſt, and ſtript of all his Fortune. So that you might frequently ſee Men of great Poſſeſſions one Day, reduced the next to Want, and begging for Bread; the dire Effects of his inſatiate Avarice, ſupported by Tyrannic Power, under Pretence of ſupplying Moneys to diſtribute to the Soldiers. His Ears were always ſo open to every malicious Calumny, that he paid no Regard to Age or Quality; but, upon the ſlighteſt and moſt frivolous Slanders, would order Prefects

Prefects of Armies and Provinces, Men of Conſular Dignity, and ſome of Triumphal Honours, to be ſeized, hurried upon mean Vehicles, without any Attendants, and dragged along, Night and Day, from the Eaſt or Weſt, or, if it ſo chanced, from the moſt Southern Parts of the Empire, to *Pannonia*; where he commonly reſided; and there having degraded and ſtript them of all they poſſeſſed, he condemned them either to Death or Baniſhment.

As long as he practiſed theſe Cruelties upon ſingle Perſons, the Calamities, being confined to the Sufferer's Family, did not much affect the Cities and Nations as Collective Bodies. For the Diſtreſſes of the Great and Wealthy are not only not regarded by the Populace; but oftentimes Men of evil Minds, and malicious Spirits, rejoice in their Misfortunes; envying the Proſperity of thoſe who ſeem happier than themſelves. But, after having reduced many illuſtrious Families to Beggary, not content with private Rapines, which he thought inconſiderable and trifling, he broke in upon the Public Funds; ſeizing into his own Poſſeſſion all the City-Stocks, either reſerved againſt a Dearth of Proviſions, or collected for the Uſe of the poor Citizens; with whatever Sums had been ſet apart for the Support of the Theatres and other popular Diverſions. All the conſecrated Gifts of the Temples, the Effigies of the Gods, the Statues and Armory of Heroes, the curious Pieces of Workmanſhip in Public Buildings, the Decorations and Ornaments of the City; in a word, every thing compoſed of valuable Metals was melted down, and turned into Money. This ſtung the People with Vexation, and cauſed an uni-

univerſal Mourning, to ſee the City ranſack'd and enduring all the Evils of a hoſtile Siege, without War, and without Arms. Some of them were brave enough to reſiſt, and attempt the Defence of the Temples; chuſing rather to die before the Altars, than to ſtand and ſee their Country ravaged. Hence aroſe great Confuſions thro' all the Cities and Provinces; and the Hearts of the Commonalty ſwell'd with Reſentment. Nor, indeed, did the Soldiers themſelves much like what was done; being perpetually reviled and upbraided by their Relations and Families, as they for whoſe Sakes *Maximine* did all this Miſchief.

Such Cauſes as theſe, far from frivolous or unreaſonable, ſtirred up the Multitude to Hatred; and made them eager to revenge themſelves by Rebellion. But as yet they only prayed and invoked the injured Gods: But none of them had Courage enough to begin the Deliverance; till, after three Years of *Maximine's* Reign, the *Libyans* firſt, upon a very trifling Occaſion (as the Affairs of Tyrants are always ſlippery) took up Arms, and raiſed a Rebellion on the following Account.

A.D. 239. The Rebellion in *Africa*.

The High-Steward [b] at *Carthage* exerciſed his Judicial Power over that Country with all the Extremities of Rigor, Oppreſſion, and Cruelty;

[b] Theſe Officers the *Romans* call'd *Procuratores fiſci*; *Proctors* or *Procurators of the Fiſcus*; which was a Revenue appropriated to the Maintenance of the Emperor and his Family; as the *Ærarium*, or public Treaſury, was for the Support of the Government. Sometimes the Perſon veſted with this Office is call'd *Procurator ad rationes*, *A Procurator to the Accounts*; ſometimes *Procurator rationalis*, *Proctor-Accomptant*; and often, in the Low *Latin*, *Rationalis*, *Accomptant*. In the Times of the Conſuls, the Management

extorting great Sums of Money, in order to purchaſe the Favour of the Prince with the Ruin of the People. For *Maximine* always took care to fill all Places of Truſt with Men

nagement of the public Accompts was committed to Urban, and Provincial, *Quæſtors*. The City-*Quæſtors* preſided over the Treaſury at *Rome*; and diſpenſed the *Lautia*, or ſplendid Preſents beſtowed on Foreign Ambaſſadors; for whoſe Entertainment they provided at the Charge of the Public. Their Office was merely Civil, having nothing to do with the Army, but only to iſſue out of the Treaſury the Military Standards, *&c.* for the new-raiſed Legions, when the Conſuls were going on any Expedition. But the Provincial *Quæſtors* went with the Conſuls, or Pretors, and had their Reſidence with the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces. Sometimes they had the chief Command of Armies, in the ſame manner as the Legates, during the Abſence of the Conſul, or Pretor: But their ordinary Office was to pay the Army; and to regulate the Collections of Money, Corn, and other Tributes impoſed on the conquer'd Nations. Theſe Tributes they often lett out to farm; and the Perſons who farmed them were call'd *Publicans*: Of whom we frequently read in the New Teſtament. *Tacitus*, Ann. l. xi. c. 22. ſays, they were firſt inſtituted in the Time of the Kings. Their Number was at firſt but two; but increaſed in After-ages, till *Julius Cæſar* (according to *Dio*, l. xliii.) made no leſs than forty *Quæſtors*. But thoſe modern Authors are miſtaken, who make the Office of the *Quæſtors* ſimilar to that of the *Procurators*. The former was very agreeable to the *Roman* Conſtitution; but the latter was look'd on as a tyrannous Encroachment on their Remains of Liberty, and was odious both to Citizens and Provincials. The *Procurators* of the City ſuperintended the Collection of the Crown-Revenue, ariſing not only from the Confiſcation of the Fortunes of all who were judged Traitors to the Emperor, and the heavy Fines exacted from *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and other Diſſenters from the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed; but alſo from Impoſts, Tolls, and Duties laid on Carriages, Commodities, *&c.* They are mentioned a little further on in this ſame Book; where our Author tells us, they were drag'd and kill'd by the People, as Inſtruments of Extortion under *Maximine*. The Provincial *Procurators* ſupervifed the Confiſcation of Effects, and

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of his own Principles. And all the Overſeers of the Revenue, even tho' it happened (which was but very rare) that they were Men of tolerable Honeſty, fell into the ſame iniquitous Meaſures; and, through Fear of the preſent Danger, and well knowing his unbounded Greedineſs, imitated, tho' unwillingly, the Actions of the reſt. This High-Steward then of *Libya*, among other Acts of Violence, having fraudulently condemned ſome young Men of good Birth and Fortunes, endeavour'd to extort Money from them; and to ſtrip them of all their Patrimonies, the ancient Inheritances of their Fore-fathers. Which the young Gentlemen bearing very hardly, promiſed to bring him the Sums demanded, if he would only indulge them with three Days time: In which Space they formed a Conſpiracy of all, who either had ſuffered, or were afraid of ſuffering, the like Oppreſſion; and ordered all their Servants in the Country to come to them in the Night with Clubs and Pick-axes.

the Collection of the ſeveral Taxes, Exciſes, &c. impoſed on the Provinces for Supplies to the *Fiſcus*, in the ſame manner as their Brother-Officers in the City. But though the Power of the City-*Quæſtors* over the public Treaſury was diſcontinued by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, reſtored by *Claudius*, and taken quite away by *Nero*; yet in the Proconſular Provinces (of which *Africa* was one, as we ſhall ſhew in the next Note) the ordinary Tributes and Taxes were ſuperintended by *Quæſtors*, according to the ancient Conſtitution; and the Money collected by them was applied to the Payment of the Army, and the Surplus brought into the public Treaſury. At this Time then there were in *Africa* both a *Procurator fiſci*, for the Revenue of the Emperor; and a *Quæſtor*, for the Treaſury, reſiding with the Proconſul; as we read in the Sequel.

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The Vaſſals readily obeyed their Lords Commands, and came together into the City before Break of Day, hiding under their Clothes ſuch extemporary Arms as they could furniſh themſelves with in the Fields. A prodigious Multitude was ſoon collected; for *Libya*, being a very populous Country, employed a great Number of Huſbandmen. As ſoon as it was light, the young Gentlemen came, and ordered their Servants to follow them with ſeeming Careleſneſs, as if they belonged to the reſt of the Croud; but not to diſcover their Arms, till any of the Soldiers or People attempted to ſeize their Maſters for what they ſhould do; then to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. Themſelves, with their Daggers conceal'd in their Boſoms, proceded to the High-Steward's Hall, as if they were going to treat with him about the Payment of the Money; and, ruſhing upon him unawares, ſtab'd him. Upon which, the Guards drew their Swords, and endeavour'd to revenge his Death; but the whole Multitude of Ruſtics pull'd out their Clubs and Pick-axes, and, bravely fighting for their Maſters, in a little time put the Soldiers to Flight. The Procurator kill'd.

Matters having thus far well ſucceeded, the young Gentlemen, knowing themſelves engaged in a deſperate Cauſe, from which there was no receding, concluded, their only means of Safety conſiſted in vindicating one bold Attempt with a greater. They therefore reſolved to make the Governor of the Province of their Party, and ſollicit the whole Nation to a Revolt: Which they knew was a thing univerſally wiſh'd, and only impeded by the Terror of *Maximine's* Power. The Malcontents fly to *Gordian*.

Accordingly, they came to the Proconſul's[c] Houſe about Mid-day, attended by all the Multitude. His Name was *Gordian*, an old Man, to whoſe Lot the Proconſulate fell when

[c] The ingenious and learned *Salmaſius* very judiciouſly diſtinguiſhes between *Proconſular* Provinces, and *Conſular*. The former, he obſerves, were ſuch as were ruled by Governors after their Conſulſhips; who obtain'd them by Lot, according to the ancient Inſtitution of the *Romans* in their Republican State. Every one, tho' but moderately verſed in the *Roman* Affairs, knows, that Conſuls and Pretors, after the diſcharge of their reſpective Offices at *Rome*, had Provinces allotted them to govern for a certain Time: After which they were ſucceded by others of the like Dignity, who obtain'd theſe Provinces by Lot. This Cuſtom was in ſome meaſure kept up, after the *Roman* State became ſubject to Monarchs: For *Auguſtus Cæſar* continued to let the Conſuls and Pretors preſide over the Provinces, as uſual, after the Diſcharge of their Conſulates and Pretures; and theſe were call'd indiſcriminately Proconſular Provinces, even tho' they were governed by Perſons of no higher Rank than the Pretorian: For we often read of Proconſuls, who had never been Conſuls. But upon the ſubduing more Nations, and forming new Provinces, *Auguſtus* ſent *Legates*, of his own chuſing, of Conſular or Pretorian Dignity, to govern them, without any regard to Lot as before. Theſe new Governors, if they had been Conſuls, were ſtyled *Conſular Legates*; if only Pretors, *Pretorian*; and ſometimes *Legati Auguſti Pro prætore*; *The Proprætorian Legates of Auguſtus*; and their Provinces were call'd *Conſular*, or *Pretorian* Provinces. The ſame Diſtinction the later Emperors obſerved, permitting the old and peaceable Provinces to be obtain'd by Lot by the Conſuls and Pretors: But ſent *Legates* into the other Provinces; which they call'd the Emperor's own, in contradiſtinction to the Proconſular Provinces, which belonged to the People; and of which *Africa* at this Time was one; and *Gordian*, according to the ordinary Cuſtom, was the Proconſul. However, upon any new Commotions, or ſudden Emergencies, they altered theſe Forms, and made *Proconſular* Provinces *Conſular*; and *vice verſa*. Vide *Salmaſ.* ad *Jul. Capitol.* in vit. *Marc. Ant.* Philoſoph.

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he was eighty Years of Age; after he had been Ruler of ſeveral Provinces, and well tried in the Adminiſtration of very important Affairs. Which induced them to think, he would eaſily be prevail'd on to accept the Sovereignty, as the Summit of all his former Dignities; and that the *Roman* Senate and People would eagerly embrace ſuch a Man for their Emperor, who was well born, and had advanced through ſeveral Poſts of Government, as a gradual Aſcent to this the higheſt.

It happened, that, the Day theſe Things were tranſacted, *Gordian* was reſiding, in leiſure, at his own Houſe; giving a ſhort Reſpite to his Fatigues, and enjoying a Ceſſation from all kinds of Buſineſs. The young Men, with their Swords in their Hands, diſperſed the Porters of the Palace, and broke into his Apartment; where they found him repoſed upon a Couch; and, immediately gathering round him, threw the purple Robe over his Shoulders, and ſaluted him with *Auguſtan* Honours. *Gordian*, aſtoniſh'd at the Strangeneſs of the thing, and thinking it was ſome Treachery, and a Snare laid for his Life, leaps from his Couch, throws himſelf on the Ground, and prays them to ſpare an old Man, who never had done them any Injuſtice, and preſerve their Faith and Affection to their Prince. But while they preſs'd on him with their naked Swords; and he, through Fear and Ignorance of what had happened, miſtook their Deſign, being unable to conjecture the Cauſe of this ſudden Fortune; one of the young Men, who was ſuperior to the reſt in Birth and Force of Eloquence, orders his Companions to be ſilent and have a little Patience; and, graſping

Gordian ſaluted Emperor.

ing his Sword by the Hilt, ſpoke to the old Man in the following manner.

The young Man's Speech to *Gordian.*

"The Choice is this Day offer'd you of two "very different Dangers; the one impending, "the other at a Diſtance; the one apparent, the "other yet hid in the dark Womb of Fortune. "You muſt therefore reſolve this Moment, ei- "ther to undertake your own and our Preſerva- "tion, and to nobly truſt that better Hope "which we have already truſted, or die imme- "diately by our Swords. If you embrace the "preſent Opportunity, you are furniſh'd with "many Refreſhments for the Way, to raiſe "your Hopes, and inſpire you with Courage. "You will take off a *Tyrant* univerſally hated, "and ſtop the raging Plague of Cruelty. You "will add new Luſtre to your paſt great Ac- "tions; and purchaſe to yourſelf a Name of "Renown and everlaſting Honour from the "*Roman* Senate and the whole People. But if "you deny what we aſk, and refuſe to conſpire "with us in this glorious Cauſe, Fate has fix'd "this Day for your laſt. Behold us here pre- "pared, firſt to put an End to your Life, and "then to throw our own after, if Neceſſity re- "quires. For we have already acted ſo daring an "Exploit, that we are obliged to proceed even "to the laſt Extremity of Deſpair. The wicked "Miniſter of Tyranny lies dead; and has ſuf- "fered from our Hands the Puniſhment of his "Cruelty: Wherefore if you caſt in your Lot "with ours, and become a Partner in the com- "mon Danger, your Pains will be rewarded "with the Imperial Dignity; and the Deed we "have already committed, ſhall, inſtead of Pu- "niſhment, receive Commendation."

While

While the Youth was ſpeaking in this manner, the reſt of the Multitude, ſeeing the whole City flocking to the Place (for they now had heard what had happened) could no longer contain, but again ſaluted *Gordian*, *Auguſtus*. He, tho' he pretended to decline the Honour, and deſired to be excuſed by reaſon of his Age, yet, being naturally covetous of Glory, willingly enough accepted the Offer; chuſing the future Danger before the preſent; and thinking that, as he was very old, and conſequently could not expect to live many Years longer, it would be no great Loſs, if he ſhould happen to be cut off in the Enjoyment of Imperial Honours. And now the whole *Libyan* Nation was in a Tumult. They pull'd down all the Honours of *Maximine*, and adorn'd the City with *Gordian's* Pictures and Statues; and gave him the additional Surname of *Africanus*. For the *Libyans*, who inhabit the Southern parts of the Country, are call'd in the *Roman* Tongue, *Africans*.

Gordian accepts the Imperial Honours.

Gordian, having ſtaid a few Days at *Thyſtrum*, where theſe Things were tranſacted, bearing now the Title and Habit of Emperor, leaves *Thyſtrum* and haſtens to *Carthage*; which he knew to be a great and populous City; where he might carry on Affairs, as if he was at *Rome*. For this City, in Wealth, Number of Citizens, and Largeneſs, is inferior to none but *Rome*; and contends for the ſecond Place of Honour with her Rival *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Hither he came, attended with all Imperial Pomp and Ceremony. All the Soldiers in the Place, and the talleſt young Men of the City, march'd before him, arm'd with Spears, in the ſame manner

He removes from *Thyſtrum* to *Carthage*.

ner as the Life-Guards before Emperors at *Rome*; and the Laureat Rods were carried before him, which is the great Mark of Diſtinction between the Emperor's Honours and thoſe of inferior Magiſtrates; nor was the Ceremony of the Fire omitted in the Proceſſion: So that *Carthage* ſhone out with a ſhort Eclat, and exhibited a lively Picture in miniature of the Splendor, Pomp, and Fortune of *Rome*.

He diſpatches Letters to *Rome*.

Gordian preſently diſpatches Letters to every Perſon of Diſtinction at *Rome*; and writes to the principal Members of the Senate, the greateſt part of whom were his Friends or Relations. He likewiſe ſent public Letters to the *Roman* People and the Senate, ſignifying the unanimous Affection the *Africans* bore him; and at the ſame time took care to blame the Cruelty of *Maximine*, knowing it was the Object of their univerſal Deteſtation. He ſhewed all the Indications of Moderation and Gentleneſs; baniſhing the Informers, and giving Power to all who had been unjuſtly ſentenced, to make a new Appeal; and recalling the Exiles into their own Countries. He likewiſe promiſed to give extraordinary Donatives to the Soldiers, ſuch as none before had ever made, and large Congiaries to the People.

He ſchemes *Vitalian's* Death.

Above all, he took care to have *Vitalian*, Prefect of the Camps at *Rome*, put to Death; a Man of the moſt ſavage Cruelty, a great Favourite of *Maximine*, and wholly devoted to his Service. But *Gordian*, ſuſpecting he might make an obſtinate Reſiſtance to his Deſigns, and thereby deter the reſt from vindicating his Cauſe, ſends the *Quæſtor* of the Province, a young Man of a daring Spirit, ſtrong, and in the

the Flower of his Age, and ready to undertake the moſt dangerous Taſk for his Sake, together with ſome Captains and a Party of Soldiers; to whom he gave Letters ſeal'd up in double Tablets, by which they uſe to convey their ſecret Diſpatches to the Emperors. He orders them to enter the City before Day-light, and go to *Vitalian*, while he was buſied about Actions of Judicature in the little private Office of his Judgment-hall; where he always examin'd, by himſelf, the Diſpatches of Importance and Secrecy relating to the Preſervation of the Emperor; and to pretend, they had ſecret Letters for *Maximine*; that they were ſent by ſomebody on a Meſſage, which nearly concern'd the Emperor's Safety; and therefore that they deſired to have an Opportunity of ſpeaking with him in private, and declaring the Contents of their Diſpatches; which being granted, to ſtep to him, while he was taken up in examining the Seals, as if they were going to ſpeak ſomething, and ſtab him with their Daggers; which they were to carry conceal'd in their Boſoms for that Purpoſe.

This Scheme had its deſired Succeſs. They came upon him while it was dark, it being his uſual Cuſtom to come out before Break of Day; and had the good Luck to find him in a manner alone, being only attended with a few Perſons: For ſome were not yet come; and others, after attending his Levee, and paying their uſual Compliments, were gone before Morning. Every thing therefore being very quiet, and only two or three Perſons ſtanding before the Office-door, they began their Errand as above related, and were eaſily admitted. They pre- *Vitalian* taken off.

ſently produced their Letters; and while he was poring very earneſtly upon the Impreſſions of the Seals, they drew out their Poniards, and, having ſtab'd him to Death, immediately ſprang out, flouriſhing their naked Weapons at the Standers-by; who ſoon retreated in a great Fright, thinking the Deed was done by *Maximine's* Order; inaſmuch as he often acted in this manner, even with thoſe who were eſteem'd his beſt Favourites. From thence they proceeded thro' the *Holy Street*, produced *Gordian's* public Letter to the People, and delivered all their other Diſpatches to the Conſuls and the reſt; at the ſame time ſpreading a Report, that *Maximine* alſo was taken off.

Gordian and his Son declared Emperors by the Senate.

Which Rumour prevailing, preſently all the People ran up and down the Streets like ſo many Enthuſiaſts. For though the Vulgar of every Nation are fond of Innovations and Revolutions of Government; yet the *Roman* Populace, conſiſting of an infinite Number of all ſorts of People, a miſcellaneous Multitude from every Quarter of the World, are more inconſtant and fantaſtic in their Opinions, than thoſe of any other Country. The Statues, Pictures, and every other Token of Honour erected to *Maximine*, were ſoon pull'd down; and that hidden Hatred, which lay ſuppreſs'd by Terror, was now vented without Fear, Check, or Moderation. The Senate aſſembled; and, tho' they had no certain Information about *Maximine*, yet conjecturing, by the preſent Face of Affairs, what would enſue, aboliſh'd all his Honours, and declared *Gordian* and his Son Emperors. As many of the Informers and Accuſers as could be apprehended, were kill'd by

thoſe

thoſe who had ſuffered through their Indictments; and the reſt fled out of the City. The Procurators[d] and Juſtices, Miniſters and Agents of *Maximine's* Cruelty, were dragged by the People, and thrown into the Common Sewers. Innumerable Murthers were committed; and many innocent Perſons were ſacrificed to private Reſentments. For they, who were involved in Debts, entangled in Suits of Law, or chagrin'd by any other little Cauſes of Hatred, broke into the Houſes of their Creditors, Adverſaries, or Enemies; and, under pretence of taking Vengeance of them as Informers, robbed and murthered whomever they thought fit. Thus, under the ſpecious Pretext of ſecuring Peace and Liberty, they acted all the dire Effects of a Civil War. Even the Prefect of the City, *Sabinus* by Name, a Man that had gone through many Offices of Conſular Dignity, loſt his Life in the Riot: For while he endeavoured to hinder their Proceedings, they daſh'd out his Brains with a wooden Club.

Accounts of the Revolution ſent to the ſeveral Provinces.

While the People were in this Diſorder, the Senate, fully reſolved to break through all Danger, and apprehenſive of the fatal Effects of *Maximine's* Reſentment, did every thing to ſtir up the Nations to rebell againſt him. They ſent their chief Members, and the moſt honourable of the Equeſtrian Order, Envoys to the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces, with Letters ſignifying their own and the People's Sentiments, and exhorting them to aſſiſt their common Country, and the Grand Council of the *Roman* Empire; to perſuade the Nations to

[d] See the Note[b], *Page* 276.

perſevere

perſevere in their Duty to the *Roman* People, to whom, as a public Body, the Power anciently belonged; and whoſe Friends and Subjects they were, from the Time of their Forefathers. Moſt of the Governors acceded to the Reſolutions of the Senate, ſignified by the Envoys; and having prevailed upon their Provinces to revolt (which was no hard matter, by reaſon of the Hatred they bore to *Maximine's* Tyranny) they ſeized and put to Death ſuch of the great Officers as were in *Maximine's* Intereſt, and went immediately over to the *Romans*. But ſome few Governors either kill'd the Envoys, or ſent them under ſtrong Guards to *Maximine*; who preſently condemned them to Death by the moſt exquiſite Tortures his Cruelty could ſuggeſt. Such was the various State and Sentiments of the *Romans* at that Time.

Maximine much dejected at the News.

Maximine, having received perfect Information of what had been done, was much caſt down and perplexed with Cares; tho' he pretended to deſpiſe the Danger. The firſt and ſecond Days he continued quiet at Home, and only conſulted with his Friends about what was to be done. The whole Army, and all the Inhabitants on that ſide the *Save*, tho' no Strangers to the News that had been brought, and affected at the bold and wonderful Actions related, yet conceal'd their Sentiments; nor did any one ſpeak to another about the News, or ſo much as pretend to know any thing of the matter. For ſo great was the Terror of *Maximine*, that nothing eſcaped his Knowledge; and not only the Voice and Words of all, but even the very Motions of their Eyes, were watched. The third Day he ordered all the Army to aſſemble in

in a Plain before the City; where he came forth, with a Paper in his Hand, containing a Speech compoſed by ſome of his Friends; which, having mounted the Roſtrum, he read to the Soldiers. It was written much in the following Terms.

His Speech read to the Army.

" Tho' I queſtion not but the Things I am " going to relate will ſeem ſtrange and incre- " dible; yet they are ſuch as, in my Opinion, " merit rather our Contempt than Surprize; and " are not ſo worthy our Wonder as our Laugh- " ter. Arms are taken up againſt you, and " your manly Valour challenged to the Trial; " not by the *Germans*, whom we have ſo often " conquer'd; not by the *Sarmatians*, who are " every Day our Supplicants for Peace: Even " the *Perſians*, who but lately were overrunning " *Meſopotamia*, are now very quiet, and think " themſelves happy enough to enjoy their own, " being taught the Danger of raiſing Diſturb- " ances, by the Renown of your Arms, and " the Greatneſs of my Actions, which they al- " ways found ſufficient to withſtand their ut- " moſt Efforts, while I commanded the Camps " on the Banks of thoſe Rivers. But not to " keep you longer in ſuſpenſe, and by theſe " Compariſons make the Matter more ridicu- " lous; The *Cathaginians*, forſooth, are grown " mad; and have either perſuaded or forced a " poor miſerable old Creature, at the very Ex- " tremity of Feebleneſs and Dotage, to mimic " the Pomp of Majeſty, and act a kind of Pa- " geant-Emperor. For on what Army do theſe " Madmen rely; with whom Lictors and Ser- " jeants are ſufficient Miniſters of the Procon- " ſulate? What Arms do they bear, with

" whom

" whom there are no other Weapons, than a
" few Javelins to ſtick wild Beaſts with in their
" Public Diverſions? The only War-Exerciſes
" they underſtand conſiſt in dancing Choruſes,
" ſarcaſtic Jeſts, and muſical Rhythms. Nor
" let any of you be alarm'd at the News of
" what has been done at *Rome*; I mean the
" Murther of *Vitalian*; who was ſurprized by
" Craft and Treachery. For you are no Stran-
" gers to the Fickleneſs and Levity of the *Ro-*
" *man* Populace. You know how ſtout they
" are, as far as Uproar and Clamor may be
" call'd Stoutneſs; but let but two or three
" arm'd Men appear againſt them, they imme-
" diately thruſt and trample over one another,
" every one flying to eſcape his own Danger,
" and leaving the public Cauſe to ſhift for it-
" ſelf. Or if any one has inform'd you of the
" Meaſures the Senate has taken; wonder not
" if our ſtrict and regular Conduct to them ap-
" pears harſh, and they prefer the looſe indolent
" Morals of *Gordian*, ſo exactly ſimilar to their
" own: For they call manly and reverend
" Actions terrible; and, through their Luſt of
" Pleaſure, garniſh a diſſolute revelling Courſe
" with the fine Titles of Meekneſs and Good-
" nature. Hence it is, that my circumſpect
" and orderly Government is odious to them;
" and they are charm'd with the Sound of *Gor-*
" *dian's* Name; whoſe infamous Life is to you
" no Secret. Theſe then are the Enemies with
" whom you are to contend in a War, if any
" one think it worthy that Name: For I am
" perſuaded that the greateſt part of them, the
" Moment we enter *Italy*, will meet us with
" ſupplicatory and pacific Branches; and, with
" their

"their Children in their Hands, fall proſtrate "at our Feet; while the reſt ſhall fly, like "ſcandalous Cowards, leaving their Eſtates and "Fortunes, for me to diſtribute, and for you "to receive without Fear, and to enjoy as the "Fruits of your Service."

When he had uttered this Speech, and thrown out many bitter Invectives, in ſcurrilous Obloquy, againſt *Rome* and her Senate; toſſing about his Hands into threatning Poſtures, with terrific Nods and wrathful Looks, as if he was enraged with them who were preſent; he gives Orders for a March into *Italy*. After diſtributing large Sums of Money, and intermitting one Day, he ſets out at the Head of a numerous Army, conſiſting of all the *Roman* Forces, and a great multitude of other Soldiers; among whom was no inconſiderable Number of *Germans*, whom he had ſubdued by Arms, or brought over as Allies and Auxiliaries. He likewiſe took with him all the War-Engines and battering Ordnance, and other Things he had prepared againſt the Barbarians; and made but ſlow Marches, by reaſon of the great Supply of Carriages, and other Neceſſaries, continually brought him from every Quarter. For, as this Expedition to *Italy* was ſudden and unforeſeen, he had no Time to make the uſual Preparations, but furniſh'd the Army with what was needful, by a haſty and extemporary Collection. This made him diſpatch the *Pannonian* Battalions, in whom he placed his chief Truſt, becauſe they firſt declared him Emperor, and always ſeem'd willing to hazard every thing in his Service, with Orders to advance before the

reſt of the Army, and occupy the advantageous Places in *Italy*.

Capellian marches againſt Gordian.

But while *Maximine* was on his March, his Affairs ſucceeded at *Carthage* beyond his Hopes. One *Capellian*, a Man of the Senatorian Order, was Governor of thoſe *Moors*, under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, call'd *Numidians*. The Province is well fortified with Encampments, as a Guard againſt the Incurſions and Ravages of the Barbarian *Moors*; whoſe prodigious Multitude inhabit the adjoining Parts; and therefore *Capellian* had with him a conſiderable military Force. *Gordian* had an old Grudge with this *Capellian*, occaſion'd by a Difference they had formerly conteſted in Law; upon which Account, as ſoon as he had obtain'd the Title of Emperor, he ſent a Succeſſor to *Capellian*, and ordered him to depart the Province. But he, incenſed at the Affront, and ſtrictly devoted to *Maximine*, from whom he had received his high Poſt, having ſummoned the Army together, and perſuaded them to keep their Oath of Allegiance to their Prince, marches againſt *Carthage*, with a great Number of ſtout Soldiers, in the prime of their Age, well armed, and furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to War; and, through their martial Experience gain'd in many conſiderable Fights with the Barbarians, fit to undertake the moſt important Battles.

The News of *Capellian's* Approach ſtruck great Terror into *Gordian*, and very much alarm'd the *Carthaginians*; who, depending more upon Numbers, than good Diſcipline, for Victory, iſſued out of the City in an univerſal Multitude, in order to draw up and engage with *Capellian*.

But

But when *Gordian* ſaw him advance to the City, the old Man (as ſome report) giving all over for loſt, as he perceived *Maximine's* Power was very great, and ſaw nothing in *Libya* ſufficient to match it, fell into Deſpair, and hang'd himſelf. *Gordian's* Death.

However, his Death was concealed, and his Son choſen to head the Multitude; who drew up and engaged. The *Carthaginians* were much ſuperior in number; but all raw, and ignorant of War, as they had been brought up in profound Peace; always indulging themſelves in Feaſts and Pleaſures; deſtitute of Arms, or any Engines of War. Every one brought with him from Home a little Sword, or an Ax, with Javelins uſed for Hunting, or great wooden Stakes, burnt at the End, and ſharpen'd into any Form the Owner could beſt make, or thought moſt effectual for the Guard of his Body. On the contrary, the *Numidians* were dextrous Darters; and ſuch excellent Horſemen, that they rode without Bridles, and managed the Speed of their Horſes only with a Rod. The *Carthaginians* therefore were ſoon defeated; for not being able to ſuſtain the Violence of the firſt Attack, they threw down, what they call'd their Arms, and fled with Precipitation; thruſting, and trampling over one another in the Confuſion: So that more died by their own Multitude, than were kill'd by the Enemy. *Gordian's* Son, with all that attended him, fell in the general Slaughter; which was ſo great, that no Diſtinction of the Dead could be made for Burial; nor could young *Gordian's* Body ever be found. For out of this routed Multitude, all that got again into *Carthage*, and eſcaped The *Carthaginians* overthrown.

eſcaped, by diſperſing and abſconding themſelves up and down the City, which was very great and ſpacious, made but a ſmall and inconſiderable Number: The reſt crouded at the Gate; and, ſtriving every one to get in firſt, were all either ſtuck by the Darts of the *Numidians*, or cut to pieces with the Sword. The City rang with horrible Shrieks and Lamentations of Women and Children; who ſaw their deareſt Relations ſacrificed before their Eyes.

Others relate, that old *Gordian*, who remained at Home by reaſon of his great Age and Weakneſs, being inform'd that *Capellian* had enter'd the City, and ſeeing every thing in a State of Deſperation, went into his Room, as if he meant to repoſe himſelf; and there took off his Girdle from his Waiſt, faſten'd it in a Nooſe round his Neck, and ſo finiſh'd his Life. Such was the End of *Gordian*; who lived, the former part of his Life, in Proſperity and Honour; and died, not without the Image, at leaſt, of Imperial Sovereignty.

Capellian, having entered *Carthage*, put to Death the principal Perſons, of the few, who had eſcaped from the Battle. He pillaged the Temples, and ſpared neither private nor public Treaſures. After which he went to the other Cities, which had aboliſh'd the Honours of *Maximine*; and, having put to Death their Magiſtrates and principal Inhabitants, ſent the Commonalty into Baniſhment. The Fields and Villages he permitted his Soldiers to burn, waſte, and plunder, under pretence of Puniſhment for their Treaſon againſt *Maximine*; but his real ſecret Intent was to conciliate the Good-will of the Soldiery; that if any Misfortune ſhould happen

happen to *Maximine*, he, at the Head of a ſtrong and well-affected Army, might ſeize upon the Empire. This was the Poſture of Affairs in *Africa*.

No ſooner was the News of the old Man's Death brought to *Rome*, but the whole Senate and People were in the laſt Embaraſſment and Diſmay. For in *Gordian* alone center'd all their Hopes of Safety. They knew too well *Maximine* would have no Mercy: For he always had a natural Diſlike to them; but now had ſome Excuſe for his Rage, and could call his Cruelty Vengeance upon his avow'd Enemies. It was therefore thought proper to aſſemble, and concert what Meaſures ſhould be taken: And as they had already ruſh'd far into Danger, they reſolved to declare for War; and to chuſe, by Suffrage, two fit Perſons for their Emperors; that, by dividing the Power, they might ſave the Government from relapſing again into Tyranny. To this end they aſſembled, not in their uſual Court, but in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; which is in the Citadel of the City, and held by the *Romans* in moſt religious Reverence. Here then they met in full Frequence; and having ſhut themſelves in from the Sight of all Spectators, in the ſacred Chapel; as if the God of the Place was to be their Witneſs, the Helper of their Counſels, and the Inſpector of their Actions; they choſe out the moſt Illuſtrious of their Order, whom they preferr'd for Age and Abilities, and nominated them as Candidates for the Empire. This done, they proceeded to Voting; when *Maximus* and *Balbinus* were elected by a great Majority, and accordingly *Maximus* and *Balbinus*.

declared Emperors. *Maximus*[e] had been Prefect of many Camps, and presided over the City with inflexible Integrity; was esteemed by the People a Man of Understanding, a great Genius, and a sober Liver. *Balbinus* was of Patrician Quality; had been twice Consul; and presided over several Provinces, without the least Complaint of his Administration; and was of great Plainness and Simplicity of Manners. These Two, therefore, the Senate declared elected[f]; saluted each by the Title of *Augustus*; and decreed them all the Honours belonging to the Imperial Dignity.

The People oppose the Election.

But the People, during these Transactions in the *Capitol*, whether set on by some of *Gordian's* Friends and Domestics, or only excited by the Report of what was doing, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the Gates, block'd up the Avenue of the *Capitol* with the prodigious Croud, and, with Stones and Clubs, assaulted the Doors, resolved to oppose what the Senate had voted. They particularly excepted against *Maximus*, as an austere rigid Prefect. For he had often exerted his Authority, to suppress the

[e] His Father was a Plebeian, by Trade a Coach-Smith. He presided over the City with great Applause, proving himself (says *Capitolinus*) a Prefect of the highest Prudence, Ingenuity, and Integrity.

[f] When these Two were elected Emperors by the Senate, *Maximus* is reported to have said to his Collegue; *What*, Balbinus, *shall you and I acquire, if we destroy this most savage Monster* [Maximine?] To which *Balbinus* replied; *The ardent Love of the* Roman *Senate and People, and of the whole World. But* (rejoin'd *Maximus*) *I fear, we shall feel the Resentment of the Soldiery, and suffer Death.* This *Capitolinus* quotes from our Author; but we find not a Word of it in any of the Copies or Editions now extant.

Inso-

Inſolence of the fantaſtic profligate Rabble. Upon which Account, they dreaded his Power, and objected againſt his Election; bawling out, and threatening to kill them. For they deſired a Sovereign choſen out of *Gordian's* Family, that the Imperial Title might remain in his Houſe and Name. *Balbinus* and *Maximus*, guarded by ſome young Men of the Equeſtrian Order and the Soldiers who were left at *Rome*, with Swords drawn, attempted to force a Paſſage out of the Capitol; but were hinder'd by the Clubs and Stones of the Multitude; till ſomebody put it into their Heads to deceive the People in this manner.

There was a little Child, Son of *Gordian's* Daughter, call'd after the Name of his Grandfather. Diſpatching therefore certain Meſſengers, they ordered the Boy to be brought. The Meſſengers, having found him playing about the Houſe, took him upon their Shoulders; and, carrying him through the Multitude, ſhew'd him to the Croud, telling them it was *Gordian's* Grandchild, and calling him by that Name; in which manner they brought him into the *Capitol*; all the Multitude ſhouting with Joy, and ſtrewing the Way with Leaves. When the Child was come, the Senate declared him *Cæſar*; (for he was incapable of being ſet at the Head of Affairs, by reaſon of his Infancy) and by theſe Means appeaſed the Rage of the People; who now permitted the new Emperors to paſs unmoleſted to the Palace. Young *Gordian* declared *Cæſar*.

About this Time a very dreadful Calamity befell the *Roman* City, occaſioned by the Raſhneſs of two of the Senators. For the Senate being met, to conſult about the preſent State A.D. 240. Civil War at *Rome*.

of Affairs; ſome of the Soldiers left by *Maximine* in the Camp at *Rome*, who, being paſt Service, were borne upon the Liſt of Invalids, and permitted to remain at home; came as far as the Door of the Senate-houſe; where they ſtood among the reſt of the Croud, without any Arms, and dreſs'd only in their Waiſtcoats and regimental Cloaks; out of curioſity to hear the Debates of the Houſe. At laſt, about two or three of them, more curious than ordinary to learn what was doing, while the reſt were ſtanding at the Door without, enter'd the Houſe, and walked up beyond the Altar of *Victory*. Which being obſerved by one of the Members, named *Gallican*, a *Carthaginian* by Birth, who had lately been Conſul, he, together with *Mæcenas*, another Senator, and of Pretorian Dignity, came up to the Soldiers (who, far from ſuſpecting any Harm, had their Hands in their Boſoms under their Cloaks) and ſtabb'd them to the Heart with their Swords; which they wore conceal'd in their Boſoms. For all the Senators, by reaſon of the preſent ſeditious turbulent State of Affairs, carried their Swords about them, ſome ſecretly, and ſome openly, to defend themſelves, in caſe of any ſudden Aſſault or Treachery of their Enemies. Thus the Soldiers, taken by Surprize, and incapable of defending themſelves, fell down dead at the Baſe of the Altar. The reſt, ſhock'd at the Fate of their Fellow-Soldiers, and fearing ſome Miſchief from the Multitude, as they were all unarm'd, immediately fled. But *Gallican* runs precipitantly out of the Senate-houſe into the midſt of the People; and, ſhewing his Sword and Hand, yet reeking with Blood, exhorts them

them to purſue and cut off thoſe Enemies to the *Roman* Senate and People; thoſe Friends and Allies of *Maximine*. The People were ſoon perſuaded; and, raiſing a Shout in Approbation of *Gallican*, purſued the Soldiers with all poſſible Speed, ſtoning them as they fled. But the Soldiers were too nimble for them, and got all into the Camp, without any other Detriment than a few wounded; and, having ſhut the Gates in haſte, took up their Arms, and mounted the Walls, to defend the Camp.

Gallican, as he had already done ſo bold a Deed, perſiſted to blow up a Civil War, which proved fatal to the City. For he prevail'd upon the Croud, to break open the public Magazines and Armouries, and ſeize whatever Arms were there; which were kept more for Pomp than War; and every one to arm himſelf as well as he could. He likewiſe opened the Schools of the Gladiators, and led them all out, each in his proper Arms; and then ſeized all the Spears, Swords, Axes, and other warlike Weapons, he could find in any private Houſes, or the Armourers Shops. The People alſo, like ſo many Madmen, catch'd up every Working-Tool they could lay hold on, that ſeem'd any way proper to maintain a Fight, and made it their Arms; with which they aſſembled, and beſet the Camp; aſſaulting the Gates and Walls, as in a Siege. But the Soldiers, well experienced in Defences of this nature, poured their Volleys of Arrows and Miſſiles upon the Aſſailants, from behind the Battlements and their Shields; and, ſticking them with long Spears, repulſed them from the Wall: Till, the People being quite ſpent, the greater part of the Gladiators wound-

ed, and the Evening coming on, it was thought proper to draw off. The Soldiers, ſeeing them turn'd, and going off with their Backs towards them, in a careleſs manner (as not thinking a few Soldiers would dare to follow ſo great a Multitude) opened the Gates on a ſudden, and made a general Sally upon the People; in which the Gladiators were cut to pieces, and great part of the People cruſh'd to Death. But the Soldiers, not caring to purſue them to too great a Diſtance from the Camp, returned, and remained again within the Works.

This more incenſed the Fury of the Senate and People. They now choſe the moſt able Generals; and ſent into every Part of *Italy* for Recruits. Nor was it long before all the Youth of the Country were got together, arm'd in the beſt manner the ſudden tumultuary Occaſion would allow. The greater Part of theſe was ſent under *Maximus* to meet *Maximine*, and give him Battle; and the Remainder left for the Guard and Defence of the City.

Not a Day paſs'd without continual Skirmiſhes at the Walls of the Camp: But nothing deciſive was done. The Soldiers made a vigorous Defence from the Works, wounding the Aſſailants, and often repulſing them with Loſs. *Balbinus*, in the mean time, continued at home; and publiſh'd a Proclamation, intreating the People to come to a Reconciliation, and promiſing the Soldiers an Amneſty, and Remiſſion of all Offences. But both Parties continued obſtinate, and the Reſentment roſe higher and higher every Day; while the People were fired with Indignation, that ſo great a Multitude ſhould be held in contempt by ſo few; and the Soldiers

Soldiers exaſperated at ſuffering from *Romans*, what they could only expect from Barbarian Enemies.

At laſt, when they had no Succeſs in attacking the Walls, the General Officers held a Council of War; in which it was agreed, to cut off all the Aquæducts which conveyed Water into the Camp; and ſo reduce them by Thirſt. This Deſign was put into Execution, and all the Supplies of Water were diverted, their Paſſages to the Camp being ſtop'd and cut off. The Soldiers, ſeeing the dangerous Situation they were in, and reduced to the laſt Extremity, opened the Gates, and ſallied out upon the Enemy. A bloody Battle immediately enſued; in which the People were again routed, and driven quite into the City: When, finding themſelves unequal to the Soldiers, in a regular ſtanding Fight, they got up to the Tops of their Houſes; and, throwing down great Stones, Tiles, and other Shards, from the Roofs, greatly annoyed the Enemy; who, being unacquainted with the Buildings, durſt not attempt to mount after them. As the Houſes and Shops were all ſhut up, the Soldiers ſet fire to the Doors and wooden Porches; of which there are great Numbers in the City. The Flame ſoon communicated itſelf ſeveral ways at once through the greateſt part of the City; the Houſes ſtanding thick in the middle of the Streets; and the chief part of the Materials being Wood: So that many rich and flouriſhing Families were reduced to Poverty, having loſt all their magnificent and plentiful Effects; valuable, either from the Profits ariſing from them, or for the Variety and Worth of the Things themſelves.

The City ſet on fire.

No ſmall Number of People periſh'd in the Flames: For the Fire, being firſt kindled at the Doors, cut off all Poſſibility of Eſcape. The Goods of the Rich were carried off, as Plunder, by the Dregs of the Rabble; who mingled themſelves with the Soldiers for the ſake of Pillage. And ſo great a part of the City was conſumed by the Fire, as more than equal'd the Whole of any other of the largeſt Cities in the Univerſe.

In this calamitous State was *Rome*; when *Maximine*, having completed his Route, arrived on the Frontiers of *Italy*. After performing Sacrifices at the Altars on the Confines, he prepared to enter the Country; making the Army march under Arms and in good Order. But as we have related the Rebellion in *Africa*; the Civil War at *Rome*; and the Actions of *Maximine*, with his March to *Italy*; the memorable Events which enſued, ſhall be the Subject of the following Book.

HERO-

HERODIAN.

BOOK VIII.

IN the former Book are related the Actions of *Maximine* after *Gordian's* Death; his March to *Italy*; the Revolt of *Africa*; and the Quarrel between the People of *Rome* and the Soldiers. A.D. 240.

As ſoon as *Maximine* drew near to the Borders of *Italy*, he diſpatch'd Scouts to ſearch, whether there were any Ambuſcades conceal'd in the Cavities of the Mountains, Thickets, or woody Places; while himſelf brought down the Army into the Plain, and form'd in the following Diſpoſition.

The Diſpoſition of *Maximine's* Army.

The Infantry were ranged into a large quadrangular Battalion, not exactly ſquare, but the Front longer than the Files, to take up the greater Extent of Ground; the Baggage, Beaſts, and Carriages, were taken into the Center; and himſelf, with all the Life-Guards, brought up the Rear. The Troops of Cuiraſſiers, the *Mooriſh* Darters, and the Sagittaries from the Eaſt, cover'd the Wings. There was, beſides, a great number of *German* Cavalry, that he brought with him as Auxiliaries: Theſe he always placed in the moſt advanced Poſts, to receive the firſt Attacks

tacks of the Enemy; not only becauſe they were Troops of great Spirit and Courage in the Beginning of a Battle, but as they were Barbarians, and not ſo valuable as his other Forces, he took care to expoſe them firſt to Danger.

In this Diſpoſition the Army march'd, with great Regularity and Caution, over the champain part of the Country. The firſt Town of note they arrived at was *Ema*, ſituated at the Extremity of the Plain, before the Foot of the *Alps*. At his Approach, the Scouts and detach'd Parties came in with Intelligence, that the Inhabitants had deſerted the Town, after ſetting fire to the Doors of the Temples and Houſes, and taking with them, or burning, all the Proviſions and Neceſſaries in the Fields or Magazines of the Town, and leaving nothing for the Subſiſtance of Man or Beaſt. *Maximine* was highly pleaſed at this News; hoping the other Cities would do the ſame, and none would dare to abide his coming: But the Soldiers were very differently affected; having dreadful Apprehenſions of Famine, even at their firſt Entrance. The Army lay that Night, ſome in the open and partitionleſs Houſes of the Town, the reſt in the Fields; and at Sun-riſing advanced to the *Alps*. Theſe huge Mountains are a Fortification raiſed by Nature to cover the Frontiers of *Italy*; ſo high, that their Tops are inveloped by the Clouds; and ſtretch'd along into ſo vaſt an Extent, that they incloſe all *Italy*, reaching from the *Tyrrhene* Sea on the Right, to the *Ionian* Bay on the Left. They are covered with great numbers of Woods, exceeding thick. Their Entrances are very narrow,

Deſcription of the *Alps*.

row, through the horrid Projection of vaſt abrupt Precipices, and the dangerous Aſperity of the Rocks; which renders them unpaſſable, except where the ancient *Italians*, with incredible Labour and Difficulty, have dug ſeveral Paſſages, but ſo ſtrait, that they admit but very few Perſons at a time. 'Twas not without great Fear, that the Army attempted to paſs theſe Mountains, expecting, the Eminences were occupied by Enemies, and the Ways beſet to intercept them as they defiled. Nor were their Fears and Expectations, conſidering the Nature of the Place, unreaſonable.

Maximine paſſes the Alps.

However, they gain'd the Paſſes without any Oppoſition; which made them deſcend into the Plain with great Alacrity, ſkipping and ſhouting for Joy. *Maximine* now hoped to carry all before him; ſince the *Italians* had betrayed their Diffidence even of this natural Defence of their Country; where they might cover themſelves from Danger, and lay Ambuſcades; or, by occupying the Eminences, be able to annoy the Enemy from advantageous Poſts. When they were come into the Plain, the Scouts arrived again with Intelligence, That *Aquileia*, one of the capital Cities in *Italy*, had ſhut up her Gates; and that the Battalions of *Pannonians*, which *Maximine* had ordered to advance before the reſt of the Army, had inveſted the Place, and made ſeveral Attempts to take it by Storm, but without Succeſs; that, deſpairing of carrying the Town, they had raiſed the Siege, and were ſorely harraſs'd in their Retreat, by the Enemy, with Showers of Arrows, Stones, and other Miſſiles. *Maximine*, ſtung with Indignation at the Officers of the *Pannonians*, as having

behaved with ill Conduct, haſtens, with his whole Army, againſt the City, hoping he ſhould reduce it with little or no Difficulty.

Deſcription of *Aquileia.*

Aquileia was, before this (being a large City) very populous of its own Inhabitants. For being a maritime Port, and a public Mart of *Italy*, ſituated as a Frontier confining on *Illyrium*; 'tis the common Channel of Commerce, between the Merchant-ſhips, which arrive there from all Parts, and the Inland Nations: The former of which it loads with all ſorts of Commodities brought from the Continent by Land, or River-carriage; and, in return, ſupplies the latter with ſuch Neceſſaries, as their Countries but very ſcantily produce, by reaſon of the exceſſive Colds; eſpecially Wine, of which the *Aquileians* have conſtant Plenty, their Country abounding in Vineyards; which they cultivate to great Perfection; and ſend the Produce, in large Quantities, to thoſe Nations whoſe Lands are barren of Vines. Hence it was, that the City at that Time contained an innumerable multitude of People, not only Citizens, but Foreigners and Sailors; beſides the great number of Countrymen, who had flock'd thither from the adjacent Towns and Villages, truſting to the Largeneſs and Strength of the City. For tho' the old Walls were, before this, very much ruinated (inaſmuch as the Power of the *Romans* needed neither Cities, Walls, nor Arms, in *Italy*; whoſe Inhabitants enjoy'd profound Peace, under the common Protection of the Empire) yet, as the preſent Neceſſity required, they had repaired the Walls, and ſtrengthened them with additional Defences, by erecting Towers, Battlements, and Bulwarks. Having forti-

fortified the City by theſe Works, and ſhut up the Gates, they aſſembled on the Walls, and kept continual guard Night and Day; whereby they made a gallant Defence, and repulſed the Enemy, every Aſſault they made. The Defence of the Place was committed to two Generals of Conſular Rank, choſen out by the Senate, one named *Criſpinus*, the other *Menophilus*. Theſe had, with great Foreſight, imported large Quantities of all ſorts of Proviſions, ſufficient to enable the Place to ſuſtain a long Siege. Nor was there any lack of Water; for the City abounded with Wells and Fountains; and a River ran all round the Walls, ſerving, at once, as a good Foſsé againſt the Approaches of the Enemy, and a conſtant Supply of Water to the Beſieged.

This was the Condition of the *Aquileians*, when *Maximine* received Advices that the City was ſhut up, and the Walls ſtrenuouſly defended. He therefore thought it proper to ſend ſome Officers, in form of an Ambaſſy, to treat with them from before the Walls, and perſuade them, if poſſible, to open the Gates. He had in his Army a Tribune, a Native of *Aquileia*, whoſe Children, and Wife, and all his Family, were block'd up in the City. This Man therefore he ſent, together with certain Centurions; thinking, the Citizens would be eaſily prevailed upon by the Remonſtrances made by their Fellow-Citizen. The Ambaſſadors approach'd to the Walls, and told the People, "That *Maximine*, their common Sove-
"reign, order'd them to lay down their Arms
"in Peace; and receive him, not as an Enemy,
"but a Friend. That it was much more to
"their

Ambaſſadors ſent to the *Aquileians*.

" their Advantage, to ſpend their Time in Li-
" bations and Sacrifices, than in Murthers.
" That they would do well to regard the Pre-
" ſervation of their Country; which, if they
" perſiſted, muſt inevitably be laid in utter Ruin.
" That they had yet an Opportunity of accept-
" ing Mercy; for that the Emperor, out of his
" great Goodneſs, moſt graciouſly offer'd them
" a general Amneſty, and free Pardon for all
" their Offences; inaſmuch as not they, but
" others, who had ſeduced them, were the
" Objects of his juſt Reſentment." This was the Subſtance of what they offered, bawling it out before the Walls in an audible Voice; ſo that all the People (except them who were guarding the Works in other Parts) being mounted upon the Walls and Towers, and keeping Silence, heard what was ſpoken.

Criſpinus's Exhortations to the *Aquileians.*

Criſpinus, fearing the fickle Croud might be prevail'd upon by theſe fine Offers, and, chuſing Peace rather than War, open the Gates and ſurrender, runs all round the Walls, exhorting and intreating them, " To perſevere with For-
" titude, and reſiſt with Bravery, and not to
" betray their Faith towards the *Roman* Senate
" and People; but to acquire the glorious Title,
" of the Saviours and Champions of *Italy*. Not
" to believe the flattering Promiſes of a perfi-
" dious deceitful Tyrant; nor to let fair Words,
" and ſpecious Pretences, delude them into cer-
" tain Deſtruction. To bravely truſt the un-
" known Fortune of War; that often gives the
" Victory over Multitudes to Few; and enables
" thoſe, who ſeem the weakeſt, to overthrow
" them, who have the Reputation of much ſu-
" perior Strength and Valour. Not to be diſ-
" couraged

"couraged at the great Number of that Ar-
"my; for that ſuch as fight for another's
"Power, and know the Fruits of their Succeſs,
"if they ſhould obtain any, are to be enjoyed
"by others, enter the Conteſt with great In-
"difference; conſidering, that themſelves muſt
"ſhare in the Danger, but that the principal
"Profits of the Victory are to be engroſſed by
"another Perſon: On the contrary, they who
"fight for their Country, have better-grounded
"Hopes in the Aſſiſtance of the Gods; ſince
"they are not invading other Men's Proper-
"ties, but only protecting their own; and
"therefore engage with greater Spirits, as they
"are not ſet on by another Man's Command,
"but compelled by their own preſſing Neceſſi-
"ties; and, when the Victory is gain'd, the
"Fruits and Emoluments are all enjoyed by
"themſelves alone." Such Exhortations as theſe *Criſpinus* continually gave the People, addreſſing his Diſcourſe, ſometimes to ſingle Perſons, ſometimes to whole Bodies. And being, by Nature, a very venerable Perſonage, and adorn'd with all the perſuaſive Eloquence of the *Roman* Tongue, and a very worthy and moderate Governor, he prevail'd with the People to perſiſt in their Defence, and ſend away the Ambaſſadors without Succeſs.

'Tis reported, that *Criſpinus* was encouraged to this ſteady Perſeverance in the War, by ſeveral good Omens declared by the Divines and Soothſayers in the City; who, in all their Sacrifices, found the Entrails of the Beaſts to portend happy Events. For the *Italians* lay great Streſs on this ſort of Divination. And ſeveral Oracles had been utter'd by the God of *Belis.* The God

the

the Place, foretelling Victory. This God the *Aquileians* worſhip with ſuperlative Devotion, calling him *Belis* [g]; whom they will have to be the ſame with *Apollo*. And ſome ſay, the Image of this Deity appeared ſeveral times to *Maximine's* Soldiers, in the Air, fighting in Defence of the City. Whether ſuch an Apparition was really ſeen by any; or whether they raiſed the

[g] We have before obſerved, in the Note [c d], *pag.* 226. that from the *Hebrew* Word בעל *Baal*, a *Lord*, is derived the Name given to their principal God, by moſt of the *Aſiatic* and *African* Nations. But it did not ſtop there; but ſpread far and wide among the *Europeans* alſo, even as far Weſt as *France*, and our own Iſland; as appears from ſeveral ancient Inſcriptions mention'd by Authors of *Antiquities*. The God of the *Aquileians*, here ſpoken of, is call'd *Belin*, or rather, according to the *Greek* Dialect, *Belis*: For *Herodian* ſeems to give the Word a *Greek* Termination, as his Learning reach'd no farther than his own, and the *Roman*, Letters. Whether this Deity was the *Sun*, or (as the *Latin* Writers ſpeak) the *Jupiter* of the *Aquileians*, is indifferent: Nor is it of more Importance to know, whether they thought him Male or Female. All we ſhall remark at preſent is, that the Heathens, under the Name of *Baal*, worſhipped One Supreme Being, whom they thought *Lord* of the Univerſe; nor were they able to give him a Title of greater or more awful Reſpect. St. *Paul* himſelf tells the *Athenians*, *Acts* xvii. 23. that it was the very ſame UNKNOWN GOD, *whom they worſhipped* WITHOUT KNOWING (for ſo it is in the Original) *that he declared to them*. And a little after, (℣ 28.) he quotes a Paſſage of *Aratus*, a Heathen Poet, to enforce his Diſcourſe; ΤΟΥ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. *For we are the Offspring of* HIM. That HIM in *Aratus* was Ζεὺς, or Ζὰν, *Jupiter*. The Term ſeems mere *Greek*; and is derived (ſays *Plato*) from Ζῆν, *To live*; *Jupiter*, in his *Greek* Name, ſignifying the Lord of *Life*. And that the *Jews* themſelves worſhipped God under the Name of *Baal*, or *Lord*, is plain from *Hoſea* ii. 16. *And it ſhall be in that Day, ſaith the Lord, thou ſhalt call me* אישי Iſhi, my Huſband; *and thou ſhalt not call me any more* בעלי Baali, my Lord.

Report,

Report, to palliate the Shame of ſo great an Army yielding to a multitude of undiſciplined Citizens, far inferior to them in Number, and to make themſelves ſeem defeated by the Gods, and not by Men; is a Point I cannot determine: But ſure I am, the Wonderfulneſs of the Event is ſufficient to make one believe all things.

The Ambaſſadors being return'd from a fruitleſs Errand; *Maximine*, inflamed with Anger and Reſentment, accelerated his Marches with all poſſible Expedition. But being come to a large River, about ſixteen Miles from the the City, he found its Channel very deep and wide. For the Seaſon of the Year having thaw'd the Snows, which lay congeal'd, during the Winter, on the neighbouring Mountains, the Torrents had ruſh'd down the Steeps, and ſo conſiderably ſwell'd the River, that it was now render'd unpaſſable to the Army. The *Aquileians* had utterly demoliſhed the Bridge; which was a Maſter-piece of Workmanſhip, built by the old Emperors, all of ſquare Stone, and ſupported by Piers gradually increaſing. Thus, deſtitute both of Bridge and Boats, the Army halted in much Diſmay. Some of the *Germans*, quite Strangers to the Strength and Rapidity of the *Italian* Rivers, and imagining they glided along gently over the Plains, as the Rivers uſually do in their Country, where the Slowneſs of the Currents makes them ſo eaſily freeze, were raſh enough to plunge in with their Horſes accuſtomed to ſwim; but were ſoon carried away by the Force of the Stream, and all periſh'd in the Waters.

Maximine throws a Bridge acroſs the River.

For two or three Days, therefore, *Maximine* was forced to encamp; and having caſt up Retrenchments all round the Camp, to guard againſt any Surprize, he continued on his Side the River, contriving how to throw a Bridge over it. As Timber was very ſcarce in theſe Parts, and no Boats to faſten together and make a Bridge, he was at a great loſs; till ſome of the Carpenters came, and informed him there was a great number of round empty Tubs in the deſert Fields, which the Inhabitants formerly kept for their own Uſe, and to ſupply Wine to ſuch as wanted. Theſe, being hollow like Boats, would conſequently float, and might ſerve as good Pontoons, and eaſily be hinder'd from driving away with the Current, by faſtening them together, and throwing Bavins of Bruſh-wood upon them; over which might be a Laying of Earth and Gravel to a commodious Height; by which means, with a great number of Hands, he might ſoon raiſe a firm and uniform Bridge. This Deſign was put in execution; and himſelf being continually at the Head of the Work, it was not long before the whole Army paſs'd the River, and advanced towards the City.

Deſcription of the Country about *Aquileia*.

Finding all the ſuburban Houſes and Villages deſerted, they began to deſtroy the Vineyards, and cut down and burn all the Trees about the Place; and, in a ſhort time, defaced all the Beauty of that once delightful Country. For the Trees were ranged in regular Rows, equidiſtant and uniform; and the Vines growing between, and twining their luxuriant Tendrils round each other, form'd a ſylvan Scene like a verdant

verdant Feſtival Theatre; the Beauty of which ſo charm'd the Sight, that the Spectator fancied the whole Country ornamented with rural Garlands. All theſe the Soldiers ſoon fell'd or rooted up; and then march'd on againſt the City.

The Army being much fatigued, *Maximine* thought proper not to open the Works immediately; but to ſit down at a diſtance from the Walls, out of the reach of the Arrows. Having divided his Soldiers into Squadrons and Battalions, to inveſt the whole City, according to each Party's particular Orders; after giving them one Day's Reſt, he began his Approaches with great Celerity. Machines and Battering Engines were applied; and the Walls attacked by main Force: In a word, no Form of Siege was left unattempted; and hardly a Day paſs'd without ſeveral Aſſaults (for the whole Army inveſted the Place, and cloſed it in, as it were, with a Net) but they always met as ſtout and obſtinate a Reſiſtance. For the *Aquileians* had ſhut up all their Temples and Houſes, and brought their Wives and Children into the Bulwarks and Forts upon the Walls; where they all oppoſed and repelled the Aſſailants; nor was there any Age exempted or judged incapable of joining in the Defence of their Country. But the Houſes in the Suburbs, with the Redoubts, and Works without the Gates, were demoliſh'd by the Enemy, and the Materials converted into Machines of Approach. *Maximine* ſtruggled Night and Day to make a Breach in ſome part of the Walls, by which he might pour in his Troops, ſack the City, and

The Siege of *Aquileia.*

and lay it deſolate; that it ſhould be no more a Habitation for Men, but a Deſart for Beaſts to graze in. For he thought, he could never procede to *Rome* with Honour, till this City, the firſt in *Italy* that durſt oppoſe his Progreſs, was level'd with the Ground.

With this Reſolution both he and his Son, whom he had created *Cæſar*, rode continually round the Walls, exhorting, encouraging, promiſing, and even beſeeching his Soldiers, to carry on the Work with Spirit and Activity. But the *Aquileians* ſtill maintain'd their Poſts; throwing down Stones, and another kind of Ammunition, made by mixing Brimſtone, Aſphaltos, and Pitch together in hollow Engines with long Handles. Theſe they had in great Numbers upon the Walls; and as ſoon as the Enemy approached, they ſet fire to the Combuſtibles, and let fly whole Vollies at once; which diſperſed among the Soldiers like Showers of Fire; and the ſcalding Pitch, with the other Ingredients, entring by the naked parts of their Bodies, diffuſed itſelf further; till their Corſelets, and all the reſt of their Armour made of Iron, grew ſo intolerably hot, that they were obliged to throw them off; and their Bucklers and Arms, whatever was of Leather or Wood, took fire and were burnt. So that you might ſee the Soldiers diſarming themſelves; and the Arms thrown down on the Ground look'd like a Spoil, won rather by Artifice than by Valour. Hence great part of the Army was ruin'd, or maim'd; ſome loſt their Eyes; others had their Faces miſerably ſcorch'd; others their Hands; in ſhort, every part of the Body that was naked and expoſed to the Miſchief.

This

This Evil was accumulated with another: For the Beſieged flung down lighted Torches, dip'd likewiſe in Pitch and Roſin; the Extremities of which were pointed with Iron, ſharp as an Arrow; which, ſticking to the Machines of Approach, communicated the Flames, and eaſily ſet the Machines on fire.

For the firſt few Days the Diſpute ſeem'd tolerably equal, and the Fortune of the Fight inclined not much to either Side: But at length *Maximine's* Army grew tired; and theſe Diſappointments, ſo little look'd for, greatly ſunk their Spirits. For they ſaw thoſe, whom they ſuppoſed too weak to ſuſtain one Day's Attack, not only hold out, but reſiſt. On the other hand, the *Aquileians* continually gathered new Strength and freſh Spirits. The long Continuance of the Fight gave them, at once, Experience and Courage; and they now began to deſpiſe the Army. They ſcoffed at the Soldiers, and inſulted *Maximine*, as he rode round the Walls, abuſing him and his Son in the moſt contumelious and ſcurrilous Terms. Which affrontive Treatment ſtung him to that degree, that he raved with Anger; and, not being able to take Vengeance of the Enemy, he wreck'd his Spleen at his own Officers; ſeveral of whom he puniſhed, as having behaved cowardly or careleſs in their Attacks. But this Proceeding ſerved only to make him more odious to the exaſperated Soldiers, and more contemptible to the Enemy. It ſo fell out, beſides, that the *Aquileians* were plentifully furniſhed with all kinds of Proviſions and Neceſſaries, having providently brought into the City large Quantities of every thing that was needful or convenient

for the Support of Man and Beaſt; and that the Army, on the contrary, were in the utmoſt Scarcity, having cut down all the Fruit-Trees about the Place; and laid the Fields and Country waſte before them. Wherefore ſome of the Soldiers, indeed, lay in ſlight temporary Tents; but the greateſt part, expoſed to the open Air, endured the Inclemency of the Rains, and the Heat of the Sun; and at the ſame time were diſtreſs'd by Famine, having no Magazines of Corn or Forage, and deſtitute of Supplies; becauſe the *Romans* had taken care to block up all the Roads of *Italy* with Walls and Gates; and the Senate had ſent Officers of Conſular Rank, at the Head of choſen Troops, the Flower of *Italy*, to lay an Embargo on all kinds of Veſſels, and keep a ſtrong Guard at the Ports and Havens. By which means *Maximine* was an utter Stranger to every thing tranſacted at *Rome*; for all the Roads, Paths, and By-ways, were diligently watch'd, that no one might paſs without being examined. So that the Army that ſeemed to beſiege, was, in reality, beſieged itſelf. For they could neither take *Aquileia*, nor, if they raiſed the Siege, could they retire to *Rome*, for want of Tranſports and Carriages; which were all ſeized and ſecured by the Enemy. Rumours were likewiſe ſpread, which, aſſiſted by Suſpicions, exaggerated Matters beyond Truth; That the whole People of the *Romans* was in Arms; That *Italy* univerſally conſpired in the ſame Cauſe; That all the *Illyric* and barbarous Nations, both of the Eaſtern and Southern Regions, were levying Forces, and making warlike Preparations; and that the Deſtination of all theſe Armaments was againſt

againſt *Maximine*, the common Object of their Hatred. Theſe Reports intimidated the Army even to Deſperation; who, at the ſame time, were diſtreſs'd with the Penury of all ſorts of Neceſſaries, almoſt to Water itſelf; which they had only from the River before the City, and that corrupted with Blood and Carnage. For the *Aquileians* threw their Dead into the River, having no Room to bury them; and the Bodies of all that died in the Army, either by the Sword or Diſeaſes, were committed to the ſame Receptacle, for want of ſufficient Inſtruments to dig Holes for their Interrment.

Maximine and his Son aſſaſſinated.

The Army being in this Extremity of Diſtreſs and Dejection; while *Maximine* was repoſing himſelf in his Tent, on a Day when there was a general Ceſſation of Arms, and every one was retired, either into the Camp, or the Poſt where he was ſtation'd; the Soldiers belonging to the Camp at *Rome* under the *Alban* Mount, whoſe Children and Wives were left there, came to a Reſolution to diſpatch *Maximine*, and thereby relieve themſelves from the Fatigues and Difficulties of a long and hopeleſs Siege; and not to ſuffer all *Italy* to be ruin'd, for the ſake of an abdicated deteſted Tyrant. With this bold Deſign, they came, in a Body, to his Tent about Mid-day, the Life-Guards alſo conſpiring with them; and having pull'd down his Images from the military Standards, as *Maximine* and his Son were coming out of the Tent, in order to talk with them, they refuſed to hear any thing he could ſay; but immediately kill'd them both; and after them his Prefect of the Camp, and all his favourite Friends. The Carcaſes, after having treated them with all kinds

of Indignities, and trampling them under Foot, they expoſed as a Prey to the Dogs, and Fowls of the Air; but ſent the Heads of *Maximine* and his Son to *Rome*. Such was the End of *Maximine* and his Son; ſuch the Puniſhment inflicted on them, for a wicked tyrannous Abuſe of Power.

The *Aquileians* ſupply the Army with Neceſſaries.

The Death of the Emperor put the whole Army into the utmoſt Confuſion. Nor was the Deed approved of by them all, eſpecially the *Pannonian* Forces, and the Barbarians of *Thrace*; who firſt had preſented him with the Imperial Purple. But as it was impoſſible to undo what was done, they were obliged by Neceſſity to put up with it, and to ſhew, at leaſt, a ſeeming Approbation. Having therefore laid down their Arms, they went to the Walls in a pacific Manner; told the *Aquileians*, that *Maximine* was kill'd; and intreated them to open their Gates and receive them for Friends, who were Yeſterday their Enemies. But the two Generals would by no means ſuffer the Gates to be opened; but expoſing to their Sight the Images of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and of *Gordian Cæſar*, adorn'd with Crowns and Laurels, they honour'd them with reſpectful Acclamations, firſt themſelves; and then requeſted the Army to acknowledge, declare, and accept, with joyous Acclamations, the Emperors choſen by the *Roman* Senate; for that the two *Gordians* were now in Heaven, and among the Gods. They likewiſe open'd a Market upon the Walls; where the Soldiers might buy all ſorts of Neceſſaries; Meat and Drink in abundance; together with Clothes, Shoes, and every thing elſe for the Uſe of Man, that an opulent and flouriſhing

flouriſhing City could afford. At which the Army were the more amazed, when they ſaw the Beſieged had ſuch Plenty of all Proviſions; while they, on the contrary, labour'd under ſuch pinching Want, that they muſt have periſhed, before they reduced a Place ſo well furniſhed with every thing that was needful. Thus they continued under the Walls, ſupplied from the City with all manner of Neceſſaries, of what Sort, and in what Quantity, every one required, and diſcourſing with the *Aquileians* with all the Freedom of Friendſhip and Amity; but the Form of the Siege ſtill continued, as the Gates remained ſhut, and the Army encamping before the Town.

While Things were in this State at *Aquileia*, the Horſe, that were ſent from the Army with *Maximine's* Head, made all poſſible Diſpatch; every City in their Way opening their Gates, and receiving them with Laurels, and all other Demonſtrations of Joy. They paſs'd the Lakes and Ponds between *Altinum* and *Ravenna* in Boats; and found *Maximus* the Emperor reſiding at *Ravenna*, and augmenting his Forces by the Junction of the pick'd-out Troops from *Rome*, the *Italian* Cohorts, and no ſmall Number of *German* Auxiliaries ſent him by the States which had been long affected to his Intereſt, ever ſince he had the Command in their Country; wherein he behaved with great Honour. While he was thus buſied in making Preparations to go againſt *Maximine's* Army; the Horſe arrived with the Heads of *Maximine* and his Son, and the Tidings of Victory and Proſperity; and that the Army had acceded to the Sentiments of the *Romans*, and reverenced the Emperors

perors made by the Senate. No ſooner was the Account heard, ſo much beyond their Hopes, but all the People repair'd to the Altars, and perform'd the Sacrifices of Thankſgiving; ſinging Songs of Victory, Victory gain'd without Blood or Battle! The Sacrifices ended, *Maximus* ſent away the Horſe to *Rome*, to carry the Account of what had been done, and ſhew the Head of *Maximine* to the Citizens.

Maximine's Head is brought to Rome.

'Tis impoſſible to find Words to expreſs the general Joy of the *Roman* People, when the Horſe arrived, bearing aloft in public View the Head of their Enemy ſtuck on a Pole. Perſons of all Ages and Conditions flew immediately to the Altars and Temples. None could be contained at Home. The whole Multitude ran about the City, tranſported with enthuſiaſtic Rapture, congratulating one another, and flocking into the *Circus*, as if they were going to ſee the Entertainments of the Place. *Balbinus* himſelf ſacrificed whole Hecatombs of Victims. Every Magiſtrate, every Senator, rejoiced with inexpreſſible Joy, as having averted the Ax continually impendent over their Necks. Meſſengers and Heralds, with Laurels in their Hands, were diſpatch'd with the News to the ſeveral Provinces.

Maximus arrives at Aquileia.

Such was the Mirth and Feſtivity at *Rome*. In the mean time *Maximus* ſets ſail from *Ravenna*, and arrives at *Aquileia*, having paſſed the Lakes, which receive the *Po* and the Inundations of the neighbouring Moraſſes, and diſcharge themſelves, by ſeven Mouths, into the Sea: Whence the Natives of the Place call that Collection of Waters, in their own Tongue, the *Seven Seas*. The *Aquileians* received him immediately

diately with open Gates. And all the Cities of *Italy* diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors, choſen from their principal Men: Who, clothed in white Garments, bearing Laurels in their Hands, with the Images each of their Country-Gods, and all the Crowns of Gold dedicated to their Deities, did Homage to *Maximus*, and ſtrewed the Way with Leaves, as he paſſed. The Army, likewiſe, that had lately beſieged the City, came before him with Laurels, in a Shew of Peace; not with univerſal Sincerity of Heart, but, neceſſitated by the Prince's preſent Fortune, with feign'd Affection and pretended Honour. For the greateſt part were ſecretly ſtung with Indignation, and grieved to think the Emperor they choſe was cut off, and thoſe elected by the Senate were inveſted with the Supreme Power. The firſt two Days after his Arrival at *Aquileia* were ſpent by *Maximus* in public Sacrifices. On the third he convened the whole Army into the Plain; and thus deliver'd himſelf, from the Roſtrum erected for that purpoſe.

His Speech to the Army.

" The great Advantages ariſing from your " Repentance, and Reconciliation with the *Ro-* " *mans*, you yourſelves have already experi- " enced; being delivered from a State of Ho- " ſtility, and received into Peace, and Favour " of the Gods, by whom you have ſworn; and " now keeping your Sacrament of Allegiance, " that venerable Myſtery of the *Roman* Empire. " It is therefore incumbent on you, to confirm " to yourſelves the everlaſting Enjoyment of " theſe Bleſſings, by preſerving inviolate your " Faith to the *Romans* and their Senate; and to " us the Emperors, whom the People and Se- " nate have choſen, on account of our noble

" Births

" Births and Actions, and a long Series of
" Honours, by which, as by a gradual Aſcent,
" we have arrived, at laſt, to this higheſt Of-
" fice. For the Empire is not the private Pro-
" perty of one Man; but it is the common In-
" heritance of the *Roman* People, derived to
" them from their Anceſtors; and in that City
" has Fortune fix'd the Seat of Sovereignty.
" All that we have committed to us, is the Diſ-
" penſation of Equity, and the Adminiſtration
" of Public Affairs, in Conjunction with you.
" If therefore you diſcharge your Part of the
" Duty with Decency and juſt Order, revering
" and honouring your Superiors; the good Ef-
" fects of this will be a Life of Proſperity to
" yourſelves, abounding with every thing that
" is truly deſirable; and to all the Inhabitants
" of the other Provinces, through every Na-
" tion, and in every City, a laſting Peace and
" firm Obedience to their Governors. You
" will live at your own Pleaſure, in your own
" Countries, and be no more expoſed to Dan-
" gers and Difficulties in foreign Lands. To
" keep the barbarous Nations quiet, ſhall be our
" Care. For as we are two Sovereigns, inveſted
" with equal Power, domeſtic Affairs will be
" the more eaſily adminiſter'd at *Rome*: And if
" any Expedition be neceſſary in foreign Parts;
" either of us ſhall be the ſooner at hand, in
" whatever Country our Preſence is demanded.
" Nor let any one of you ſuſpect, that the leaſt
" Remembrance ſhall be kept of what has been
" done, either by you (for you did as you were
" ordered) or by the *Romans*, or any of the
" Nations, who, by reaſon of Grievances, have
" raiſed Rebellions. Be there henceforth a ge-
" neral

" neral Oblivion. Be there mutual Covenants " of ſolid Friendſhip; and may the Faith of " good Affection, and perfect Harmony, be e- " verlaſting."

After making this Speech, and promiſing them large Sums of Money by way of Donative, *Maximus* continued ſome few Days in *Aquileia*, and then prepares for his Return to *Rome*. He diſmiſs'd the Army, commanding every Corps to return to their reſpective Country and Camp. This done, he ſets out for *Rome*, attended by the Imperial Life-Guards, together with the Troops enliſted by *Balbinus*, and the *German* Auxiliaries. In theſe laſt he repoſed great Confidence, as having formerly gain'd their good Affection, by the Equity and Moderation with which he commanded amongſt them, before he was made Emperor. When he came to the City, *Balbinus* met him, with *Gordian Cæſar*; and the Senate and People received him with joyous Acclamations, and attended his public Entrance with all the Pomp of a Triumph. *Maximus returns to Rome.*

During the reſt of their Reign, they govern'd the City with great Order and Decorum; meeting with univerſal Applauſe, both public and private; while all the People rejoiced at their great Happineſs, in being bleſs'd with Princes of illuſtrious Deſcent; whoſe perſonal Merit render'd them worthy the Imperial Purple. But amidſt the general Gladneſs, the rancorous Hearts of the Soldiers ſwelled with Malice. They heard, with great Diſlike, the Applauſes of the People. They eſteemed the Nobility of the Emperors a heavy Burden. They could not bear the Thoughts of having Sovereigns given them

them from the Senate. And what added much to their Uneaſineſs was, that *Maximus* continued the *Germans* in his Service at *Rome*; and always had them about his Perſon: For they ſuppoſed, theſe were to be their Oppoſers and Puniſhers, if they attempted any Treaſon. They likewiſe ſuſpected, Treachery might be deſigning againſt them; that the *Germans* might, perhaps, circumvent them by ſome Stratagem; and, having caſhiered them, might ſtep into their Places: An Example of which they recollected in *Severus*, who had ſerved the Murtherers of *Pertinax* in that manner.

The Pretorians riſe againſt *Maximus* and *Balbinus*.

At the Celebration, therefore, of the *Capitoline* Games, when the Minds of all were taken up with the Public Diverſions and Spectacles, the Soldiers, all on a ſudden, betray'd their long diſſembled Sentiments. Unable to contain their Reſentments, and fired with unreaſonable Wrath, they came in a Body to the Palace; and made an Aſſault upon the two old Emperors: Who, unhappily, were not in perfect Friendſhip and Harmony with each other; but (ſuch is the Luſt of Monarchy, and ſo incommunicable is Sovereign Sway) each endeavoured to encroach on the Authority of his Collegue, and to draw over the Power to himſelf. *Balbinus* thought himſelf ſuperior on account of his high Birth, and his two Conſulſhips: On the other hand, *Maximus* preſumed on his having preſided over the City, and acquired a great Character of Experience in Buſineſs. And both were prompted to ſtrive for ſole Supremacy by the Patrician Nobility; and the great Number and Intereſt of their Families. But this unhappy Contention was the Ruin of both: For *Maximus*, being

Inform'd, that the Soldiers, whom they call *Prætorian*, were coming to kill him, reſolv'd to ſend for the *German* Auxiliaries then quarter'd at *Rome*, and judged ſufficient to reſiſt the Traitors. But *Balbinus*, well knowing the good Affection the *Germans* bore *Maximus*, ſuſpected there was Treachery in the Caſe, and that ſome Plot was hatching againſt his Life: He therefore refuſed to have them brought, ſaying, they were not ſent for to oppoſe the Pretorians, but, under that Pretence, to ſeize upon the Empire, and make *Maximus* Sole Monarch.

While the two Emperors were involved in this fatal Difference, the Soldiers (as we have mentioned) came with one Conſent; and the Guards on Duty at Court giving way to them, they broke into the Palace and ſeized the old Men. They firſt tore off their Clothes, which were not very grand or pompous, as they were in their own private Apartments; then dragged them naked out of the Palace, abuſed them in the moſt ſcurrilous and ſhameful manner, beating them, and calling them, in a contemptuous, ſcoffing Tone, *The Emperors of the Senate*; at the ſame time plucking them by the Beards and Eye-brows, and treating their naked Bodies with all manner of Indecency. In this ludibrious diſgraceful manner they brought them through the midſt of the City towards the Camp, not deſigning even to murther them in the Imperial Palace; but expoſing them alive to public Shame, and protracting their Miſeries, that they might have a longer and livelier Senſe of their Sufferings.

No ſooner were the *Germans* told of what was doing, but they ſnatch'd up their Arms, and flew, with Eagerneſs, to ſuccour the Princes. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* murthered.

But

But the Pretorians, being inform'd of their Approach, finiſh'd their Malice, by murthering them both; whom they had already diſgraced and mangled in every Part of their Bodies. This done, they left the Carcaſes in the Street; and took up *Gordian Cæſar*; and, as they could not find another at hand, ſaluted him Emperor; bawling out aloud to the People; That they had only diſpatched thoſe, whom they themſelves at firſt diſliked for their Sovereigns; and made *Gordian* Emperor, who was the Deſcendant of old *Gordian*, and whom the *Romans* themſelves had forced into the Succeſſion. And, carrying *Gordian* with them, they proceeded to the Camp, ſhut themſelves in, and remained quiet. The *Germans*, upon hearing, that they were kill'd and thrown out, for whoſe Sake they were advancing againſt the Camp, not caring to enter into a vain War for Men, who were now no more, faced about, and retired again to their Quarters.

Such was the End of thoſe venerable good old Men; who were unworthily and impiouſly cut off, after having been promoted to the Imperial Throne, on account of their illuſtrious Birth, and the better Nobility of their great Merits.

Gordian, being about thirteen Years old, was declared Emperor, and inveſted with the Sovereign Power of the *Romans* [h].

[h] *Zoſimus*, lib. i. (contrary to moſt of the other Hiſtorians) relates, that the two *Gordians* were waited for by the Senate after the Death of *Maximine*; but that, they being caſt away and drown'd in their Paſſage from *Africa* to *Rome*, the Senate made young *Gordian's* Son Emperor; but *Maximus* and *Balbinus* conſpiring againſt the Life of the Youth, the Plot was detected, and the Authors and Accomplices of it puniſh'd with Death.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

AFTER the Death of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, *Gordian* endeavoured to appeaſe the turbulent Spirits of the People; and, if not obliterate, at leaſt to weaken, the Memory of their late Confuſions and Calamities, by the Celebration of public Sports and Spectacles [a]. This he did with ſuch Aſſiduity, that the firſt Year of his Reign was taken up with little elſe, than the frequent Exhibition of all kinds of Scenical Diverſions and Gymnaſtic Exerciſes. While he was thus employed, the *Carthaginians* raiſed a Rebellion in favour of one *Sabian*, whom they declared Emperor: But being overcome by *Gordian's* Forces, the Rebels were glad to deprecate the Puniſhment they feared, and to purchaſe their Pardon, by delivering up *Sabian* to Juſtice. *Gordian.* A. D. 240.

Soon after, a War broke out with the *Perſians*; which occaſion'd *Gordian* to collect a numerous Army, and prepare for an Expedition into *Perſia*. Before he ſet out, he married the Daughter of *Timeſicles* [b]; or, as others, *Miſtheus* [c], whom he made Prefect of the Pretorians; and followed his Counſels and Directions, in all Affairs of Importance. *Sapor*, the then King of the *Perſians*, was in poſſeſſion of *Antiochia*, when *Gordian* arrived: But, after ſeveral Battles, in which the *Perſian* was always worſted, he was forced to retire. *Gordian*, by the good Conduct of his Father-in-law, was ſo ſucceſsful, as to drive *Sapor* into his own Territories, and recover all the Eaſtern Cities, which the *Perſian* had taken from the *Romans*, before the Arrival of their Emperor. But this Succeſs of *Gordian*, which depended ſo entirely on the good and wiſe Adminiſtration of his Father-in-law, was ſoon interrupted by the old Man's Death; in whoſe ſtead *Philip*, an *Arabian*, was prefer'd to the Prefecture. A. D. 242.

a *Jul. Capitol.* & *Aurel. Victor.* in *Gordiano*, & *Zoſimus*, lib. i.
b *Jul. Cap.* c *Zoſim.*

A. D. 244. *Philip* was no ſooner got into Power, but he began to infect the Minds of the Soldiery with Diſaffection to *Gordian*; and he prevail'd ſo far, by firſt reducing the Army to Famine, and then laying the Fault on the Emperor's want of Years and Experience, that he got himſelf declared Co-Emperor with *Gordian*. But, not content with this, and well knowing the Affections of the Army were much alienated from *Gordian*, whom they falſely look'd upon as the ſole Cauſe of their preſent Diſtreſs; he took the Advantage of their Diſſatisfaction, and work'd it up to that height, that ſome of the Mal-contents aſſaſſinated *Gordian*; and made room for *Philip's* Son (whoſe Name too was *Philip*) to be declared Joint-Emperor with his Father.

Marcus. When the Senate were inform'd of *Gordian's* Death, they
A. D. 245. created an Emperor at *Rome*, whoſe Name was *Marcus*.
Severus Hoſtilianus. But he dying ſoon after his Election, they choſe *Severus Hoſtilianus* his Succeſſor; who likewiſed died immediately after his Acceſſion to the Throne: So that *Philip* and his Son remained in full Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Dignity.

The two *Philips.* *Philip*, having made a Peace with *Sapor*, returned to *Rome*; but took care to diſpatch Meſſengers before him, to tell the Senate, that *Gordian* died a natural Death; and to acquaint them, that the Army had veſted him and his Son with the Imperial Purple. The Senate, tho' they ſuſpected he had been chief Promoter of the Murther, yet as their two new-made Emperors were both dead, and as they feared to oppoſe the Soldiery, declared *Philip*, *Auguſtus*. His Stay at *Rome* was but ſhort; being forced to make an Expedition againſt the *Carpi*, who were plundering the Towns, and waſting the Countries about the *Danube*. After a few Skirmiſhes, the Barbarians ſued for Peace; which *Philip* readily granted, and returned to *Rome*; where he
Secular Games. celebrated the *Secular Games* [d], 1000 Years from the build-
A. D. 249. ing of the City, himſelf and his Son being Conſuls.

Not long after, new Troubles aroſe in ſeveral Parts of the Empire at once. The Oriental Provinces rebell'd in favour of one *Jotapian*, whom they ſet up for Emperor: And the *Myſians* and *Pannonians* did the ſame for one *Marinus*; the News of which ſtruck *Philip* with great Fear.
Decius. However, the Pretenders to the Sovereignty were ſoon cut
A. D. 250. off; and *Decius*, a Man of an illuſtrious Family and great Merit, was ſent to *Pannonia*, to enquire into the Cauſes of the Rebellion, and bring the Ringleaders to condign Pu-

[d] *Aurel. Vict.* in *Philip.* *Jul. Cap.* in *Gord.* Tertio. [e] *Eutrop.*

niſhment.

niſhment. The *Pannonians*, on account of his great Virtues and Abilities, and by reaſon of their Diſaffection to *Philip*, preſented *Decius* with the Imperial Purple, and declared him Emperor. Upon the News of which, *Philip* and his Son marched with a numerous Army againſt him. But the *Pannonians*, though inferior in Number to *Philip's* Army, yet, excelling them in Proweſs, and commanded by a much better General, overthrew the Forces of *Philip*; who, together with his Son, fell in the Battle.

Decius being confirmed in the Empire, made his Son *Decius* his Collegue, and declared him *Auguſtus*. He effectually ſuppreſſed a Civil Commotion in *Gaul*[a]; and ſhewed all the Talents of a wiſe and active Sovereign; by recovering and reforming whatever the Sloth and Inability of *Philip* had either loſt or corrupted. In his Time the *Scythians* plundered the Country about *Thrace*. To chaſtiſe whom, *Decius* march'd with his Army; and was ſucceſsful in ſeveral Battles. But being, at laſt, betrayed by *Gallus*, to whom he had entruſted great part of his Forces, having poſted him on the Banks of the *Tanais*, in order to cut off the Enemy's Retreat over that River, he fell into an Ambuſcade of the Barbarians; where, being overpowered by Number, he and his Son, after a vigorous and ſtout Reſiſtance, were ſlain, and all his Corps cut to pieces. The two *Decii*. A. D. 250.

Gallus, being made Emperor, not only ſuffered the Barbarians to carry off what Plunder they thought fit; but promiſed to pay them, yearly, a certain Sum of Money. During his ſhort inglorious Reign, the *Scythians* ravaged great part of the Countries under the *Roman* Juriſdiction. Which Evil was accumulated with others as grievous. For in his Time the moſt waſting Peſtilence raged in the Empire, that was ever known in any of the former Ages: And the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, taking Advantage of theſe Troubles and Calamities, and deſpiſing the *Roman* Power ruled by ſuch a ſlothful timid Sovereign, took and plundered moſt of the Cities in *Europe* under the *Romans*; while the *Perſians* did the ſame by the *Aſiatic* Towns. But the Forces in *Pannonia*, commanded by *Æmilian*, made a vigorous and ſucceſsful Reſiſtance againſt the Incurſions of the Barbarians; and, with one Conſent, made *Æmilian* Emperor; who march'd immediately into *Italy* to give *Gallus* Battle. But *Gallus's* Troops, ſeeing the Enemy more numerous than themſelves, and deſpiſing *Gallus*. A. D. 252. A dreadful Peſtilence. A. D. 253.

[a] *Eutrop.* lib. ix.

the Indolence and Cowardice of their Emperor, kill'd him and his Son, and went over to *Æmilian*'s Party.

Æmilian. A. D. 253. *Æmilian* wore the Imperial Purple but three Months: For *Valerian* (who had been diſpatch'd by *Gallus*, with Orders to bring the *Gallic* and *German* Legions) coming againſt him, the Soldiers, judging his Abilities much inferior to thoſe of his Competitor, cut him off, and unanimouſly declared *Valerian* Emperor[f].

Valerian. A. D. 254. *Valerian* came to the Sovereignty with the univerſal Approbation of the whole Empire[g]. His Integrity and Abilities had been ſufficiently tried in the moſt important Truſts; which he always diſcharged to the Good of the Community and his own Honour. But his Reign was as unfortunate as the former part of his Life had been glorious, being nothing but a continued Scene of Commotions and Troubles. For under him the *Greeks*, who had borne the *Roman* Yoke patiently ſo many Ages, firſt thought of fortifying their Towns, and attempting their Freedom. The *Scythians* and *Germans* made frequent Irruptions into the *Roman* Territories. The *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations on the *Danube*, penetrated through *Illyrium* into *Italy*, depopulating the Towns and waſting the Country, and committing all kinds of Outrage and Havock. In the Eaſt, *Sapor*, King of the *Perſians*, created new Diſturbances, and greatly annoyed the *Roman* Provinces. In a word, the whole Empire was in the utmoſt Danger, Miſery, and Confuſion. *Valerian* had taken his Son *Gallien* into Partnerſhip in the Sovereignty; and gave him the Command of the *European* Forces; while himſelf went into *Aſia*, to obviate the Inroads of the *Scythians* and *Perſians*: Againſt the former of whom he ſent *Felix* his Prefect; while himſelf oppoſed, but very languidly, the Force of the latter. *Sapor* had ſent Ambaſſadors to him to deſire a Conference, in order to bring about a Peace. To this Propoſal *Valerian* was weak enough to conſent; and to go, with a Deſign to treat with the *Perſian* in Perſon, attended only by a few Guards. When he came to the Place appointed, he was ſurrounded by the Enemy, and taken Priſoner; and forced to ſpend the Remainder of his Life in ſhameful Captivity in *Perſia*.

Valerian taken Priſoner by *Sapor.* A. D. 258.

Gallien's unhappy Reign. A. D. 258. During theſe Misfortunes in the Eaſt, *Gallien* was employ'd in continual Battles and Skirmiſhes with the *Germans* on the further ſide of the *Rhine*; having committed

[f] *Zoſim.* lib. i. [g] *Trebell. Pollio* in *Valerian.*

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the Care of the Disturbances in *Greece*, *Illyrium*, and *Italy*, to his Generals. In the mean time, the *Scythians*, taking Advantage of the Captivity of one of the Emperors, and the Absence of the other, divided their Forces into several Bodies, and made Incursions into different parts of the Empire. Some of them penetrated into *Italy*, and advanced quite to *Rome*. But, the Senate opposing them with a considerable Army, levied for that purpose, they thought fit to retire, and plunder the Country. About the same time, a terrible Pestilence broke out again, and raged with great Violence, carrying off the greatest part of those who escaped the Swords of the Barbarians: So that the *Roman* Empire became a sad Scene of Horror, Misery, Blood, and Desolation. Upwards of five thousand died in a Day at *Rome*, and a proportionate Number in other Cities [h]. Add to this, several dreadful and destructive Earthquakes; and the Civil Wars in every Part of the Empire at once. For there started up no less than Thirty Pretenders to the Imperial Dignity in the several Provinces, who are commonly mention'd under the Title of the *Thirty Tyrants*. Two of these were Women: For *Odenatus*, being made Emperor in the East, for the vigorous and successful Stop he put to the Encroachments of the *Persian*, was at last treacherously slain; and *Zenobia*, his Widow, a Woman of a manly Fortitude, took the Administration of Affairs into her own Hands, and gave several Defeats to *Gallien's* Party in the East. The other Lady, named *Victorina*, hearing her Son and Grandson, who had both worn the Purple, were kill'd by the Soldiers, exhorted *Tetricus* to put up for the Sovereignty in *Gaul*; while herself assisted him, and performed many Exploits of manly Boldness, under the Title of MOTHER OF THE CAMP. The thirty Tyrants.

Gallien was so little moved at all these Disturbances, that when the News of any fresh Misfortune was brought him, he commonly turned it into Jest and Ridicule; being a great Wit, an excellent Poet; but a bad Soldier, and a worse Sovereign. His Father's Captivity gave him no Concern, tho' it affected almost every one else with Shame and Sorrow. At last, he was treacherously assassinated by an Officer, who was employ'd in the Affair by *Heraclian* the Prefect, and *Claudius*, who succeded him in the Empire [i]. *Gallien's* Character.

Claudius, the first Emperor of the *Constantine* Family, was a Prince of extraordinary Abilities and Virtues. He *Claudius.* A. D. 268.

[h] *Trebell. Poll.* in *Gallieno.* [i] *Zosim.* lib. i.

vanquiſh'd the *Goths*, and other *Scythian* Nations; who were wafting *Illyrium*, *Macedonia*, and other *Roman* Territories, in prodigious Numbers; but were ſo harraſſed, chaſed, and ſlaughtered by the *Romans*, under this Emperor, that a total Stop was put to their Incurſions and Rapines. His Reign was glorious, but ſhort: For an epidemical Diſtemper raging in the Army, himſelf was ſeized by it, and carried off, before he had worn the Imperial Purple full two Years.

Quintillus A. D. 270. His Brother *Quintillus* ſucceded him; but was cut off by the Soldiers, before he had completed ſeventeen Days of his Reign.

Aurelian. A. D. 270. *Aurelian* was the next that wore the Imperial Purple; a Prince of ſtern Morals and Inflexible Severity. He, by a rigorous and exact Diſcipline, reduced the Army to good Behaviour; and recovered thoſe Provinces his Predeceſſors had loſt[k]. He received one great Overthrow in the War with the *Marcomanni*; which was the Cauſe of ſeveral Seditions riſing againſt him at Home. But having retrieved the Misfortune, and happily ended the War, he haſten'd to *Rome*, to chaſtiſe the Inſurgents; which he did with the moſt inexorable Rigor. This made him rather dreaded than beloved by his Subjects: But the Looſeneſs and Corruption of the former Reigns had cauſed ſuch Confuſion and Miſrule in the Empire, that nothing but a wholſom Severity could purge the State, and effect a Reformation. The *Romans* therefore uſed to ſay, *Aurelian* was a good Phyſician to the Commonwealth; but that his Method of Cure was harſh and deſperate[l]. He enlarged the City of *Rome*, ſurrounding it with new and ſtrong Walls; and built a moſt rich and magnificent Temple to the Sun, as a Monument of Thanks for the Help afforded him by the *Syrian* God *Elagabalus*, in his Wars with *Zenobia*, *Odenatus's* Widow, who, till his Time, reigned Empreſs in the Eaſt. This Heroine *Aurelian* overthrew; and brought her in Triumph to *Rome*, after putting to death all her Friends, without Mercy or Diſtinction: Amongſt whom was *Longinus* the famous Critic, whoſe Treatiſe *Of the Sublime* is ſtill extant; becauſe he believed him to be the Author of a haughty Letter ſent him by *Zenobia*. Having made himſelf Maſter of the Eaſt, he returned into Europe; where he ſucceſsfully ſuppreſs'd ſeveral Seditions; and repulſed the Barbarians who were overrunning thoſe Parts. After which, he went back

Longinus the Critic put to death.

k *Eutrop.* lib. ix. l *Flav. Vopiſcus* in *Aurel.*

again

again to the East, upon receiving the News of a Rebellion raiſed at *Palmyra* in favour of *Achilleus*, Kinſman to *Zenobia*. When he came, he raſed the City to the Ground; and ſlew all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children. *Tetricus* ſtill held the Sovereignty in *Gaul*; but being unable to bear the ſeditious turbulent Spirits of his own Soldiers, he ſent privately to *Aurelian*, and betrayed his own Army into his Hands. *Aurelian* was now ſole Lord of all the Empire, both Eaſtern and Weſtern; which he acquired by many dangerous Enterprizes, laborious Marches, and bloody Battles, both with foreign and domeſtic Enemies. He enter'd *Rome* in a moſt pompous Triumph, with *Zenobia* and *Tetricus* his Captives, beſides great Numbers of Priſoners, of almoſt all the Barbarian Nations that ever attempted to diſturb the *Roman* Dominions. After this he declared War with the *Perſians*; againſt whom he ſet out on a great Expedition; but was murther'd by the Treachery of *Mneſtheus*, one of his Notaries, between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium* [m]. *Mneſtheus* had incurred the Diſpleaſure of his Sovereign, who threaten'd to bring him to ſpeedy Puniſhment. To prevent which, the Notary, counterfeiting the Emperor's Hand, writes a Liſt of the Names of ſeveral Perſons, whom *Aurelian* deſigned to put to death for various Cauſes; and, withal, mixes the Names of ſome of the Emperor's greateſt Favourites, againſt whom he had never conceived the leaſt Diſpleaſure; and, to give a greater ſhew of Reality to the Deceit, inſerts his own Name among the reſt. This Liſt he carries to each of the Parties concern'd; who, incenſed at the Emperor's Ingratitude, (for they ſuppoſed the Liſt to be genuine) and terribly alarm'd at the Danger, watch'd an Opportunity, and aſſaſſinated *Aurelian*; to prevent the Evil they falſely thought he had determin'd againſt them.

Aurelian's Triumph. A. D. 274.

The manner of his Death. A. D. 275.

After his Death, the Empire remain'd ſix Months without a Supreme; the Army refering the Choice of a new Emperor to the Senate, and the Senate recommending the Election back again to the Army: And ſuch a Reformation of Diſcipline had *Aurelian* made in the Empire, that, during all this time, no Sedition was raiſed, nor Conſpiracy formed, in favour of any particular Candidate. At length, *Tacitus* was elected by the Senate to fill the Imperial Throne. His Reign was too ſhort to admit any very extraordinary Exploits or Atchievements: For he was trea-

Interregnum of 6 Months. A. D. 275.

Tacitus choſen Emperor.

[m] *Flav. Vopiſc.* in vita ejus. *Eutrop.* lib. ix. *Zoſim.* lib. i.

cherouſly cut off, in the ſixth Month of his Reign, by ſome Mal-contents in *Aſia*; where he was ſucceſsfully oppoſing the Inroads of the *Scythians*; who had paſs'd the *Maeotis* or *Dead Lake*, and penetrated through *Pontus* quite into *Cilicia*.

Florian. A. D. 276. His Brother *Florian* ſucceded him; but was likewiſe kill'd in leſs than two Months by his own Soldiers, in favour of *Probus*; who had been declared Emperor in the Eaſt, and was haſtening to *Tarſus*, to give *Florian* Battle.

Probus. A. D. 276. *Probus*, being ſettled in the Sovereignty, began immediately to exert all the Qualities of a vigorous and valiant Prince. He entirely routed all the Barbarous Nations, who were over-running the Empire; of whom he ſlew near five hundred thouſand, and drove and purſued the remaining few into their own Territories; where he erected Forts, and held the Natives in awful Subjection. He ſtruck ſuch A. D. 280. Terror into all the Nations round about the *Roman* Empire, that nine Kings, of different Countries, came and threw themſelves at his Feet; on whom he impoſed a Tribute of Proviſions [n]. He likewiſe received into the *Roman* Service ſixteen thouſand Barbarians, and ſent them into the Armies in the ſeveral Provinces. After effectually clearing *Gaul* of the Barbarians, he march'd into the Eaſt; where he was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt all his Enemies, not only foreign, but domeſtic. For *Saturnine* having uſurp'd the Sovereignty in theſe Parts, he overthrew him in ſeveral Battles, and at laſt utterly extinguiſh'd him and his Faction. *Bonoſus* and *Proculus* raiſed a Rebellion againſt him in *Gaul*; but met the ſame Fate with *Saturnine* [o]; as did alſo the Head of another Sedition in *Britain*. In a word, he put an End to all his Wars, both Civil and Foreign, with that happy Diſpatch, and ſo univerſally reſtored and confirmed Peace to the Empire, that he uſed to ſay, Soldiers would in a ſhort time be a uſeleſs Set of Men. After theſe great and wonderful Actions in all parts of the *Roman* Dominions, he was at laſt aſſaſſinated in a Mutiny of his Army at *Sirmium*, a Town of *Illyrium*. The Cauſe of this Mutiny was not only the Saying above-mentioned; but that exceſſive Activity, with which he kept the Army ſo inceſſantly employ'd, that he never ſuffer'd a Soldier to be idle. So that immoderate Action was as fatal to *Probus*, as the contrary Extreme, of Inaction among the Soldiery, has often been to other Commanders.

Cauſe of his Death. A. D. 283.

n *Flav. Vopiſc.* in vita ejus. o Idem ibid. & *Eutrop.* lib. ix.

The

The Empire was now recovered to it's priſtine Grandeur. For that Reformation, which the Courage and Severity of *Aurelian* began, the Valour and Equity of *Probus* had completed: So that the *Romans* flouriſhed in good Harmony at Home; and were dreaded by all the Nations round about them. In this advantageous Poſture of Affairs, *Carus*, Prefect of the Camps to *Probus*, was choſen Emperor by the univerſal Conſent of the Army. Immediately after his Acceſſion to the Throne, he began vigorouſly to proſecute the War againſt the *Perſians*; which *Probus* had deſigned, and was making Preparations for, when he was aſſaſſinated. He made his two Sons *Cæſars*; the elder of whom, *Carinus*, he ſent into *Gaul* to govern in thoſe Parts; and the younger, *Numerian*, he carried with him againſt the *Perſians*. He advanced, through *Meſopotamia*, quite to *Cteſiphon*, before he met any Oppoſition: For the *Perſians* were embroil'd in Civil Diſorders at Home; which made them fall an eaſy Prey to their Enemies. But, prompted on too much by Succeſs, and puſhing his Fortune beyond his natural Strength, he fell into a dangerous Diſeaſe, occaſioned by his perpetual forced Marches, and immoderate Watchings. In his Sickneſs, a ſudden Storm aroſe, ſo terribly black, that one Man could not diſtinguiſh another, but by the frequent Flaſhes of Lightning, intermix'd with loud Thunders. During this tempeſtuous Commotion of the Heavens, the Emperor expired; which gave Occaſion to ſome to report he was ſtruck with a Thunder-bolt; but others affirm, he died a natural Death. *Flavius Vopiſcus* intimates, that the Report of the Emperor's being kill'd by Thunder, was occaſion'd by a vulgar Superſtition that prevail'd in thoſe Times; That it was decreed by Fate, the *Romans* ſhould never be able to ſtretch their Dominion farther Eaſt than *Cteſiphon*.

Carus, A. D. 283.

Different Reports of his Death.

His Son *Numerian* was declared Emperor in his ſtead, while *Carinus* continued in *Gaul*; where he had been left by his Father, with full Power, as *Auguſtus*, tho' with only the Title of *Cæſar*. *Numerian*, ſoon after his Father's Death, was afflicted with ſo violent a Diſtemper in his Eyes, that, when the Army was on their March, he was obliged to be carried in a Litter. His Father-in-law, *Arrius Aper*, taking the Advantage of this Indiſpoſition, conſpired, with a Faction in his Intereſt, to diſpatch the Youth, and make himſelf Emperor. The Conſpirators executed the Deſign; and, having murther'd *Numerian*, and not judging it adviſable to reveal his Death to the Army, kept his

Numerian, A. D. 285.

Aper's Treaſon.

his dead Body ſtill in the Litter, and carried it in the ſame Order as when living. The Soldiers often enquired after their Sovereign's Health; but were always anſwer'd, That he was alive, but that his ocular Diſorder grew ſo bad, that he could not ſuffer the leaſt Glimpſe of Light. But the Stench of the Coarſe, at length, betray'd the Treaſon; and the Soldiers, finding the Emperor was dead, immediately accuſed *Aper* of the Murther.

Diocletian. A. D. 285.

In this Confuſion they unanimouſly nominated *Diocletian* for his Succeſſor; a Man of great Reputation in the Army, tho' deſcended from very mean and obſcure Parentage. Having mounted the Tribunal, and made a Speech to the Soldiers, as uſual, he immediately drew his Sword, and ſtab'd *Aper* in the ſight of the whole Army, as the Author of *Numerian's* Death.

Carinus's Luxury.

All this time *Carinus* was in *Gaul*, purſuing the beſtial Pleaſures of Luxury, Luſt, and Cruelty, without any Regard to the Poſture of Affairs. He ſeem'd to have rejected the Charge of Government, as a Load too weighty for his Shoulders; and to be ſo entirely abandoned to Vice and Indolence, as to have rendered himſelf inſenſible of any Notions of Glory and Empire. But, upon hearing the News of his Father's and Brother's Deaths, and of *Diocletian's* Acceſſion to the Sovereignty, he advances immediately to meet him, with all his Powers. Several Battles were fought; the laſt of which was at *Margus*, a Town in *Mœſia*, in which *Carinus* fell, being deſerted by his own Army [P].

Carauſius made Emperor in Britain. A. D. 287.

Soon after this, *Maximian Herculius*, whom *Diocletian* had made *Cæſar*, ordered *Carauſius*, Commander in Chief of the *Roman* Marine in the *Britiſh* Channel, to be put to death for Mal-adminiſtration. *Carauſius*, to eſcape the impending Puniſhment, raiſed a Rebellion; and, veſting himſelf with the Imperial Purple, ſeized upon the Iſland of *Britain*.

Maximian made Joint-Emperor with Diocletian.

At the ſame time, new Troubles aroſe in *Egypt*, *Africa*, and the Oriental Nations. In this turbulent State of Affairs, *Diocletian* takes *Maximian* Partner in the Empire, and, from *Cæſar*, makes him *Auguſtus*; at the ſame time making *Conſtantius*, Grandſon to *Claudius*, and *Maximian Galerius*, *Cæſars*. In this Diſpoſition of the Government *Diocletian* marches againſt *Achilleus*, the Pretender, in *Egypt*; whom he overcame and put to death; and puniſh'd the *Egyptians*, for their Rebellion, with great Severity. *Maximian*, his Collegue, had the like good

[P] *Eutrop.* lib ix.

Succeſs

Succeſs in *Africa*, where he ſlew the ſeveral Pretenders, and put an End to the War. While the two *Auguſti* were thus employed, the two *Cæſars* were not idle in their reſpective Provinces. One of them, *Conſtantius*, ſlew ſixty thouſand Enemies in *Gaul*. The other, *Galerius*, after ſeveral Battles in the Eaſt with various Succeſs, was routed near *Carrhæ*, and forced to fly for Succour to *Diocletian*. But, not long after, he retrieved this Diſgrace, by an important Victory gain'd over the *Perſians*; by which he acquired no leſs Wealth than Honour.

During theſe Succeſſes in other Parts of the Empire, *Carauſius* ſtill remain'd Maſter of *Britain*; till he was treacherouſly murthered by *Allectus*; who ſucceeded him in the Government of our Iſland. At the End of three Years *Allectus* was cut off, and *Britain* recovered again to the Emperors; who ruled the *Roman* State about twenty Years with a wonderful Cunning, join'd to a rigorous Severity. But *Diocletian* growing old, and unfit for Empire, both he and *Maximian* reſign the Sovereignty, and retire into a private Life: In which State *Diocletian* remained till his Death; but *Maximian* return'd again to *Rome*, as we ſhall relate in its proper Place.

Carauſius murthered, and *Allectus* made Emperor in *Britain*. A. D. 294. *Britain* recover'd to the Emperors. A. D. 297.

Upon the Reſignation of *Diocletian* and his *Collegue*, the two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, were declared *Auguſti*; and *Severus* and *Maximine* were created *Cæſars*. The two Emperors divided the Empire between them: *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, were to be govern'd by *Conſtantius*; *Illyrium*, and all the *Aſiatic* Dominions, by *Galerius*. Not long after, *Conſtantius*, declining the Toil of too extenſive Government, ceded *Italy* and *Africa* to his *Collegue*; and came himſelf over into *Britain*; where he died at *York*; and *Conſtantine*, his Son, by an obſcure Mother, was choſen his Succeſſor in *Britain*. When the News of this came to *Rome*, the Pretorian Soldiers declared *Maxentius* Emperor. This *Maxentius* was Son of *Maximian Herculius*, the late Emperor, who, with *Diocletian*, had reſign'd the Imperial Sovereignty, and was then in Retirement in *Lucania*. *Galerius* diſpatches *Severus Cæſar* with his Powers to *Rome*, to oppoſe *Maxentius*; but, on his Approach to the City, his own Officers deſerted his Cauſe; and it was with great Difficulty he eſcaped with Life to *Ravenna*. Soon after, he fell into an Ambuſcade laid for him by *Maxentius*, and was taken and put to death.

Conſtantius and *Galerius*. A. D. 306.

Conſtantine made Emperor in *Britain*. A. D. 308.

Maxentius.

Maximian

Maximian comes out of his Retirement. A. D. 310.

Maximian, hearing the Progreſs of his Son's Affairs, comes out of his Retirement; and endeavours to perſuade his old Collegue to join with him, and reſume the Imperial Purple. But *Diocletian* declining the Propoſal, he tampered with the Soldiery, in order to prevail with them to depoſe his Son *Maxentius*, and replace him on the Imperial Throne. But being detected and repulſed, he fled to *Conſtantine*, who was then in *Gaul*; and, having given him his Daughter *Fauſta* in Marriage, he perſuades him to attack *Galerius* in an open War; and at the ſame time to endeavour, by covert Meaſures, to take *Maxentius* out of the way. His Deſign in all this was, that while his Son and Son-in-law were mutually oppoſing each other, he might watch an Opportunity of oppreſſing them both, and ſeizing on the Empire. But his treacherous Plot againſt *Conſtantine's* Life being diſcover'd by *Fauſta* to her Huſband, he was obliged to fly to *Marſeilles*; where he was taken, and put to death.

A. D. 312. *Conſtantine*, *Maxentius*, *Maximine*, and *Licinius*.

During theſe Tranſactions *Galerius* died, after having taken one *Licinius*, his Acquaintance, as Partner in his Power: So that the *Roman* Empire was now ruled by four Princes, *Conſtantine*, *Maxentius*, *Maximine*, and *Licinius*. While the two latter were oppoſing each other, ſeveral Battles were fought between the Forces of the two former, in which *Maxentius* was generally worſted. But the laſt deciſive Stroke was given at *Rome*, when *Conſtantine*, with an Army of 90,000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe, engaged and overthrew *Maxentius*, who had no leſs than 170,000 Foot, and 18,000 Horſe. This great Victory is differently reported by *Pagan* and *Chriſtian* Writers, to be portended by a miraculous Sign from Heaven. The former ſay, A great Flock of Owls fled through the Air, and ſettled on the Walls of the City juſt before the Battle [q]. The latter will have it, that an Apparition of a Croſs was ſeen in the Sky, with this Inſcription;

Maxentius overthrown by *Conſtantine*. A. D. 313.

IN THIS CONQUER [r].

Maxentius, having loſt the greateſt part of his Army, was endeavouring to retreat with the Remainder into the City; but when he was upon the *Milvian* Bridge, the Weight of the great Crouds of the flying Soldiers brake down the Bridge; and himſelf, with great Numbers of his

[q] *Zoſim.* lib. ii. [r] *Euſeb.* de vit. *Conſtant.* lib. i. cap. 22.

Follow-

Followers, periſh'd in the *Tiber*. He was afterwards taken up; and his Head, ſtuck on a Pole, was carried through the Streets of *Rome*, to ſtrike the greater Terror into his Favourers. Some of his chief Friends were executed; the Pretorians were all broke, and their Garriſons demoliſhed. Matters being thus ſettled at *Rome*, *Conſtantine* went into *Gaul*. When he came to *Milan*, he ſent for *Licinius*, and concluded an Affinity with him, by giving him his Siſter *Conſtantia*, whom he had promiſed him before, when he deſired his Aſſiſtance againſt *Maxentius*. *Licinius* had been for ſome time engaged in a Civil War with *Maximine* and his Party. The Diſpute was at laſt decided, by a ſharp and bloody Battle in *Illyrium*; in which *Licinius*, at firſt, had the Diſadvantage; but having rallied his diſorder'd Troops, and returned to the Charge with freſh Vigor, he entirely routed *Maximine*; who fled into *Aſia*, and died at *Tarſus*.

Conſtantine and Licinius. A. D. 319.

By his Death, the Empire came wholly under the Government of *Conſtantine* and his Brother-in-law *Licinius*. But *Conſtantine*, not brooking a Partner in his Throne, ſoon found Occaſion to quarrel with *Licinius*. Their Enmity daily encreaſed, till they came to an open Rupture. The firſt Battle between them was at *Cibalis*, a Town in *Pannonia*; where *Licinius* was worſted, and forced to fly into *Thrace*. *Conſtantine*, after ſettling Affairs in *Pannonia*, paſſes over the River *Save* into *Thrace*. But *Licinius*, having recruited his Army, by the Aſſiſtance of *Valens*, whom he had created *Cæſar*, made a ſtrenuous Stand againſt *Conſtantine's* Power. After a drawn Battle, a new League was ſtruck between them; and the Empire divided, upon Condition that *Valens* ſhould be delivered up to *Conſtantine* to be put to death; which was done accordingly. The Peace thus concluded, two Sons of *Conſtantine*, one named *Criſpus*, by *Minervina* his Concubine; the other *Conſtantine*, a mere Infant; together with *Licinianus*, Son to *Licinius*; were all three created *Cæſars*. *Conſtantine*, being by this Diviſion Emperor of the Weſt, gain'd many great Victories over the Barbarians; after which he went into *Theſſalonica*, and prepared for another War againſt *Licinius* in the Eaſt; whom he overcame ſo often, and purſued ſo cloſely, that *Licinius* was, at laſt, forced to ſurrender himſelf at *Nicomedia*, and beg his Life. This, at firſt, was granted; but, whether it was for fear of future Diſturbances, or by reaſon of the implacable Animoſities, and utter Hatred, between the

the zealous Profeſſors of *Paganiſm*, and thoſe of *Chriſtianity*, *Licinius* always favouring the former as the eſtabliſh'd Religion of his Country, and *Conſtantine* moſt inclining to the latter, whatever was the Motive (for, in ſuch a Variety of Reports, 'tis hard to find the Truth)
A. D. 325. *Conſtantine* was ſoon after prevail'd with to have *Licinius* ſtrangled.

A Chro-

A Chronological Table OF THE ROMAN AFFAIRS FROM The BUILDING of the CITY, TO The Reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

	Year of the City.	before *Chriſt.*
ROME built,	1	751
Romulus, 1st King of *Rome*, diſappear'd, ſuppoſed to be murther'd by the Senate,	37	715
An Interregnum of one Year,	38	714
Numa Pompilius, 2d King, began his Reign,	39	713
reign'd 43 Years and died,	81	671
Tullus Hoſtilius, 3d King, began his Reign,	81	671
Long Alba demoliſhed,	87	665
Tullus, having reign'd 32 Years, is kill'd by Lightning,	114	638
Ancus Martius, 4th King, dies, after a Reign of 24 Years,	138	614
Lucius Tarquinius Priſcus, 5th King, reign'd 38 Years, and was kill'd,	176	576
Servius Tullius, 6th King, after he had reign'd 44 Years, was murther'd,	220	532
Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, 7th and laſt King of *Rome*, in the 25th Year of his Reign, is expell'd the City,	245	507

In

	Year of the City.	Year before Chriſt.

In this firſt Year of the *Roman* Liberty, there were no leſs than five Conſuls. For *Tarquinius Callatinus* being obliged to reſign his Office, *Valerius Poplicola* was ſubſtituted in his room; and *Brutus* being ſlain in the firſt Battle againſt *Tarquin*, *Spurius Lucretius* was his Succeſſor; but he dying ſoon after, *Horatius Pulvillus* was choſen in his ſtead.

The Lands of *Tarquin* ſeized, and dedicated to *Mars*, under the Title of *Campus Martius*,	246	506
The firſt mention of Dictators, and their Maſters of the Horſe,	253	499
The Commons raiſe a Sedition; and, having retired to the *Aventine Mount*, are at length appeaſed by the Creation of new Magiſtrates, ſtiled *Tribunes of the Commous*,	260	492
Coriolanus, the *Roman* General, having been baniſh'd, returns with an Army of the *Voſciani* to deſtroy the City; but is diſſuaded from his Purpoſe, by the Prayers of his Mother,	266	486
The Conſular Power ceaſed; and ten Men were choſen, to make ſtanding Laws, in Writing, and govern the State by them, under the Title of *Decemviri*,	303	449
The Conſular Government is renew'd, on account of the Inſolence of *Appius*, one of the *Decemviri*; who attempted to debauch the Daughter of one *Virginius*, till the Father ſtab'd her with his own Hand,	306	446
Tribunes of Soldiers with Conſular Power, created,	313	439
The Conſular Government ceaſed; and Military Tribunes with Conſular Power held the Adminiſtration of Affairs for 15 Years,	347	405
Conſuls choſen again,	362	390
are diſcontinued again, and the Military Tribunes govern for 15 Years more,	364	388
Rome taken and burnt by the *Gauls*,	365	387
The City was in a State of Anarchy, having no Supreme Governors for five Years,	379	373
Military Tribunes reſume their Power,	384	368

	Year of the City.	before *Christ.*
Military Tribunes are entirely laid aſide; and Prætors and Ædiles of State are created; and one of the Conſuls choſen from the Plebeians,	389	363
The War with *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, begun,	471	281
Elephants firſt ſeen in *Italy*,	472	280
The Beginning of the firſt *Punic* War,	488	264
The firſt Sea-fight of the *Romans*,	493	259
Peace made with the *Carthaginians*,	511	241
Sardinia taken; and the Temple of *Janus* ſhut,	518	234
Saguntum ſack'd by *Hannibal*,	533	219
The ſecond *Punic* War. *Hannibal* enters *Italy*; and beats the *Romans* in two Battles, the firſt at the River *Ticinus*, the ſecond near where the *Trebia* runs into the *Po*,	534	218
Hannibal gains another Victory, at the Lake *Thraſymene*, where the Conſul *Flaminius* is kill'd, and his Army cut to pieces,	535	217
He beats the Proprætor *Centenius*,	535	217
He gives the *Romans* a memorable Overthrow at *Cannæ*,	538	214
He advances to within three Miles of the City,	543	209
New Carthage, in *Spain*, taken by *Scipio* from the *Carthaginians*,	544	208
Sicily, *Tarentum*, and great part of *Italy*, recover'd by the *Romans*,	545	207
The *Carthaginians* are driven from *Spain*,	549	203
The Mother of the Gods brought to *Rome*,	550	202
Scipio, in Alliance with *Maſaniſſa*, beats *Syphax*, *Aſdrubal*, and the *Carthaginians*; *Hannibal* returns into *Africa*,	551	201
Hannibal is overthrown by *Scipio*,	552	200
The End of the ſecond *Punic* War,	553	199
The Beginning of the *Macedonic* War with King *Philip*,	554	198
Philip is beaten,	557	195
Hannibal flies to King *Antiochus*,	558	194
Antiochus, by *Hannibal's* Inſtigation, having made War with the *Romans*, is, at laſt, entirely conquer'd, in *Aſia*, by *Scipio*, ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*, Brother to *Scipio Africanus*,	563	189

	Year of the City.	Year before Christ.
The *Gallogræci*, or *Galatians*, conquer'd in two Battles,	565	187
The Beginning of the ſecond *Macedonic* War,	583	169
Macedonia ſubdued by the *Romans*,	586	166
The Beginning of the third *Punic* War,	602	150
Carthage taken and burnt by *Scipio Æmilianus*, Grandſon, by Adoption, of *Scipio Africanus*,	606	146
Corinth taken and burnt,	608	144
The War with the Slaves in *Sicily*,	617	135
Numantia deſtroy'd by *Scipio Æmilianus*,	620	132
Ariſtonicus conquer'd by the Conſul *Perperna* in *Aſia*,	624	128
The *Allobroges* in *Gaul* ſubdued,	632	120
The *Jugurthine* War,	643	109
Jugurtha brought Captive to *Rome*,	647	105
The War with the Allies, call'd the *Social War*,	663	89
Mithridates makes War with the *Romans*,	664	88
The Beginning of the Civil Wars blown up by *Marius*, *Cinna*, and *Sylla*,	666	86
Marius is routed, and lies hid in the Marſhes of *Laurentum*,	667	85
He re-enters the City, and is made the ſeventh time Conſul, with *Cinna*,	668	84
Sylla, having beaten the Generals of *Mithridates* in *Greece*, goes into *Aſia*, and obliges the King to take ſuch Terms as he thought fit to impoſe; after which he returns into *Italy*,	671	81
Telerinus, General of the *Samnites*, is conquer'd by *Sylla*,	672	80
Sylla makes himſelf Dictator; which Office he afterwards lays down of his own accord,	673	79
Nicomedes, King of *Bithynia*, dies, and leaves the *Roman* People his Heir,	679	73
Lucullus conquers *Mithridates* at *Cyzicus*,	680	72
The War with the Gladiators under *Spartacus*,	681	71
The War with the Pirates committed to *Pompey*,	685	67
He carries on the War againſt *Mithridates*,	687	65
Crete reduced,	688	64
The Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, in the Conſulſhip of *Cicero*,	691	61

Cæſar

	Year of the City.	Year before *Christ.*
Cæsar obtains the Province of *Gaul*,	696	56
The Beginning of the Civil Wars between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*,	704	48
The Battle at *Philippi*,	705	47
Ptolemy, King of *Egypt*, conquer'd by *Cæsar*,	706	46
The decisive Battle at *Munda*,	709	43
Julius Cæsar is stab'd in the Senate-house,	710	42
Octavius Cæsar made Consul one Day before he was twenty Years old,	711	41
The Battle with *Brutus* and *Cassius* in *Macedonia*,	712	40
The Sea-fight at *Actium*, and the Beginning of *Augustus Cæsar's* Reign,	723	29
		After *Christ.*
Our Saviour born,	752	
The End of the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*,	767	15
Tiberius,	790	38
Caligula,	794	42
Claudius,	807	55
Nero,	821	69
Galba,	822	70
Otho,	822	70
Vitellius,	823	71
Vespasian,	832	80
Titus,	834	82
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E R R A T A.

Introduct. Page 20, Line 15, &c. for *Cataline* read *Catiline.*
——— Page 27, Line 16, for *Diſſentions* read *Diſſenſions.*
——— Page 33, Line 6, for *Peperna* read *Perperna.* Line 32, for lib. 29, read lib. 59.

Page 31, Line 2, for *Secreſy* read *Secrecy.*
Page 76, Line 30, read, *But tho' he is dead, you ſhall be always,*
——— Line 33, dele *my.*
Page 133, Line 23, after *were* read *inſtituted.*
Page 181, Line ult. for *Pelopidas* read *Pelopidâ.*
Page 227, Line 39, for *Aſhteroh* read *Aſhteroth.*

Append. Page 10, in the Margin, for *Ceraufius* read *Caraufius.*

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